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## EARLY BANTU LITERATURE—THE AGE OF BRUSCIOTTO\*

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### I

THE "ANGOLA FATHERS" were the first to give us any monograph in or concerning a Bantu language. Their most notable contribution lasted from the first-known Bantu publication in 1624 right down to 1805, when Cannecattim's second volume appeared. Of all the names which we shall consider during this period, that of Fr Hyacinth Brusciotto de Vetralla stands out: his was the first grammar of a Bantu language, and his work was the first to record that hall-mark of Bantu, the noun-class system.

The works of the "Angola Fathers" and other Roman Catholic Missionaries of Angola, Congo and even East Africa during this period are all marked by close similarity of treatment. There is strongly evident the Latin approach to a treatment of Bantu when grammatical elements are dealt with. Apart from certain dictionary and grammatical works, only catechisms and works of Christian evidence are to be found; and in these the Portuguese or Latin or both invariably accompanies the Bantu translation. All of these are, of course, translations; and no original Bantu texts are to be found.

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### II

CARDOSO'S DOUTRINA CHRISTĀA, 1624. The first Bantu publication, of which we have any record is Cardoso's translation into Kongo of Jorge's *Doutrina Christāa*, which

was printed at Lisbon in 1624. This book of, which a copy is to be found in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> is a catechism "prepared for the use of infants"—so says Cannecattim in 1805; throughout it is in Portuguese with an interlinear translation in Kongo. The title page reads as follows:

"Dovtrina Christāa.<sup>2</sup> Composta pelo P. Marcos Jorge da Companhia de IESV Doutor em Theologia. Acresent ada pelo Padre Ignacio Martíñz da mesma Companhia Doutor Theologo. De nouo traduzida na lingoa do Reyno de Congo, por ordem do P. Mattheus Cardoso Theologo, da Companhia de IESV."

The Jesuit Fathers were responsible for this historic work throughout; Marcos Jorge (C. de J., D.Th.) originally composed the Catechism, Ignacio Martíñz (C. de J., D.Th.) had his share in augmenting it, and Mattheus Cardoso (C. de J.) superintended its translation into Kongo. We are especially interested in this last name, that of the man responsible for the recording of the first bit of continuous Bantu of which we know. Cannecattim (to whom records must have been available in 1805) says that this "Doutrina Christāa" was literally translated by *Pretos Interpretes* (black interpreters) and experts of the Congo court, aided and assisted by P. Frei Mattheus Cardoso, S.J.<sup>3</sup> This Cardoso was born at Lisbon in 1584 and entered the Jesuit order in 1598, at a very early age. After having studied the "humanities" at Evora, he was sent to preach the Gospel in the Congo. Here

\*This is a revised version of a paper published in *Bantu Studies*, 9, 2, June 1935.

<sup>1</sup>Catalogue No. 3504. aa. 43. There is also a copy in the Eames Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago; and two copies in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (Catalogue No: Marco Jorge, "Doutria Christāo", 1a, Repartição: Reservadas, A.4).

<sup>2</sup>So misprinted on the title, though elsewhere in the book correctly recorded as "Christāa."

<sup>3</sup>Cannecattim: *Collecção de Observações de Grammaticaes sobre a Lingua Bunda ou Angolense*, p. 151 (1805).

he rose to be rector of the College<sup>4</sup> at San Salvador, and died on the 28th October 1625<sup>5</sup>. Cardoso probably served twenty years in the Congo, and evidently thoroughly mastered the tongue of the people. Doubtless he, and possibly some of his brother priests, took a greater share in the translation of this work of Jorge's than Cannecattim gives him credit for. The orthography employed is typically Portuguese, with **cu** for **ku**, **qui** for **ki**. The difficulty encountered by using **u** with the semi-vowel value of **w** is well shewn in such a word as **acubôbayacuuutûla**, the latter portion standing for **kuwutula**. The constant use of the circumflex accent upon penultimate vowels indicates the recognition of the stress. But perhaps the most remarkable thing about Cardoso's work — the first Bantu book as far as we know, untrammelled by precedent — is that his word-division seems almost perfectly conjunctive. Despite the fact that the Kongo is written interlinearly beneath the Portuguese, Cardoso's word-division is practically unaffected by that of the Portuguese—unconsciously he has recorded the words as they were spoken. The style is naturally stilted and non-idiomatic, as he has forced himself to a large extent to follow the order of the Portuguese. This must have militated seriously against a real usefulness in this translation as far as the common people were concerned. The following is a copy of the first six lines of this remarkable and unique book:

"Doutrina Christã, ordenada a maneira  
**"Mulongui achristão, û'aludiquilua**  
**mumuânu**  
 de dialogo, pera ensinar os mininos.  
**acubôbayacuuutûla, munâ culonga o**  
**alêque.**  
 Capitulo primeiro que quer dizer Christão?  
**Lufûma lúantete quiâquiûma o**  
**christão?**  
 Recolhidos os mininos onde se ha fazer a

**Azonzama o alêque bana becuban-**  
**guilua o >**  
 doutrina, falosha o mestre persignar,  
**mulongui, û'abobessa o dungi cutenda**  
 & benzer, dizendo com elles."  
**banabûlu, yocuicanduila, boba yâu."**

For more than a hundred years after the first Missionaries had gone to the Congo, secular priests from Lisbon had taught the prayers, creed and commandments in Latin; and up to the 17th Century Christian doctrine had been handed on orally in that language, not understood by the people. It is said that the introduction of the vernacular with the increased interests of the Natives so pleased the King, Alvaro III Mbika Nimi ne Mpangu Lukeni Luambemba, that he promised to place a plot for a college at the disposal of the Fathers.

Sommervogel relates an interesting story connected with the printing of this, the first Bantu book<sup>6</sup>. This catechism in Kixikongo would probably have remained unprinted for a long time, as there were no printing facilities in San Salvador, the capital of the Christian Kingdom of the Congo, nor in Loanda, the seat of the Portuguese in Angola. But it happened that, in 1623, the Portuguese Governor, Dom Joao Correa de Souza, went to war with the Congo King, Pedro II Affonso. The Jesuit missionaries in Loanda disapproved of this enterprise, especially as de Souza called for the assistance of the cannibalistic Jaga horde. Correa de Souza, brooking no contradiction, had three Jesuits packed in a machila or portable hammock, transported to a ship and deported to Portugal. Cardoso was among them. During his involuntary stay in his native country, he made use of the opportunity to have his Kongo catechism printed; and so, the next year appeared this little volume of 134 pages, published by Geraldo da Vinha.

Cardoso dedicated his book to Pedro II;

<sup>4</sup>Of this college Barbot wrote in 1688, in *A Description of Lower Ethiopia* (Churchill's Voyages, Vol. 5. p. 482): "The Jesuits have a college where they daily teach and instruct the blacks in the Christian faith, in an easy and winning method. There are also schools where youth are brought up and taught Latin and Portuguese." About 1760 the Governor of Angola expelled the religious orders from S. Salvador and the place was unoccupied by them for over 100 years.

<sup>5</sup>Sommervogel: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Tome II, Col. 743.

<sup>6</sup>See P. Laurenz Kilger's account in his article "Die ersten Afrikanischen Katechismen im 17 Jahrhundert" (*Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 258).

but, when he returned at the end of August 1625, he found the King had died. Pedro's successor, Garcia I, although he had started the building of the Jesuit College, soon relapsed into heathenism, and Cardoso's state as principal of the college became very unpleasant. He, shortly after, fell sick, and without medical attention died before the end of the year.

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### III

PACCONIO AND DO COÛTO'S *Gentio de Angola* (Lisbon, 1643) was the second Bantu book known to have been published. This is a catechism or book of Christian doctrine of 90 pages octavo in the language of Angola (i.e. Ndongo or Kimbundu), with a Portuguese version on the opposite page.<sup>7</sup> The full title reads as follows:

"Gentio de Angola sufficientemente instruido nos mysterios de nossa Sancta Fé. Obra postuma composta pello Padre Francisco Pacconio da companhia de Iesu. Redusida a methodo mais breve e accomodado á capacidade dos sogeitos que se instruem, pello Padre Antonio de Couto da mesma Companhia.

Coram illo pròcident Aethiopes. Psal. 71. Em Lisboa. Por Domingo Lopes Rosa. Anno 1643."<sup>8</sup>

The date of this book is generally given as 1642. Cannecattim gives the date as 1643. Héli Chatelain comments on this and states that the copy he saw in the British Museum was dated 1642, but Professor Alice Werner, who examined this for me, reported, "The

last figure is illegible, but as all the various prefatory declarations are dated June and July 1642, it must be the same unless it really came out in the year after: the figure does look more like a 3". Seeing that Cannecattim must have consulted a different copy from that in the British Museum, and recorded the date as 1643, in the absence of other evidence from other possible extant copies, I incline to the later date for the publication. Cannecattim, however, was not a very careful man!

The original compiler<sup>9</sup> of this book, Francesco Pacconio, was born at Capoue in 1589 and admitted to the Jesuit order in 1607. After studying "grammar and the humanities" he sailed in 1617 from Lisbon for the "Kingdom of Angola" where he resided for many years. He, however, returned to Lisbon where he died on 13th November 1641.<sup>10</sup> The work which Pacconio prepared was evidently unfinished when he retired from Angola, or else it was too large for publication. Whichever it was, Antonio de Couto, an Angola colleague of his, took it in hand, abridged and edited the work, which was printed about a year after Pacconio's death. Do Couto (or as the Latin name has it, de Coucto) was a Portuguese, born at San Salvador in Angola. We have no record of the date of his birth, but he entered the Jesuit order on 31st October 1631, laboured as an evangelist in the Congo and died at Loanda on the 16th July 1666.<sup>11</sup> The fact that this missionary was born among the Natives<sup>12</sup> at San Salvador bespeaks for him an early and probably a thorough knowledge

<sup>7</sup>A copy of this is to be found in the British Museum, with Southey's autograph dated "Keswick, 1810" on the title page.

<sup>8</sup>Frederick Starr in his *A Bibliography of Congo Languages*, University of Chicago Press, 1908, records (on page 57) the title of this book rather differently, viz.,

"Gentio de Angola sufficientemente instruido nos Mysterios da Nossa Santa Fee. Obra postuma compuesta pello P. Francisco Pacconio da Companhia de Jesu. Reduzida a methodo mas breve e accomodado á capacidade dos sogeitos que se instruem. Pello Padre Antonio do Couto da mesma Companhia. Lisboa, por Domingos Lopes Rosa. 1642."

There are differences in punctuation and spelling, and in some cases Spanish instead of Portuguese terms are used. As Starr never saw a copy of this himself he must have depended upon some copyist, who was possibly not too careful. There is no evidence of a parallel second publication.

<sup>9</sup>According to a note of the Jesuit chronicler Franco (*Synopsis*, p. 245; 1625, n. 13), P. Cardoso seems to have translated P. Jorge's catechism for children also into the Mbundu language, though we know nothing of its having been printed.

<sup>10</sup>Sommervogel, *ibid.*, tome 6, col. 55.

<sup>11</sup>Sommervogel, *ibid.*, tome 2, col. 1587.

<sup>12</sup>Héli Chatelain supposes him to be a son of the soil (*um filho do paiz*), but according to Sommervogel he was a Portuguese born in San Salvador.

of Kongo, which he must have used in much of his missionary labour; the fact that this book was written in Ndongo and that do Couto died at Loanda, points to his acquired knowledge of a second Bantu language. Probably he was trained for the priesthood in the college at San Salvador, and though he spent some time in Portugal in touch with the Portuguese Court under John IV, he seems to have spent most of his life in Africa.

The *Gentio de Angola* contains the "Pater noster", "Ave Maria", "Salve Regina", "Credo", "The Ten Commandments", etc., at the beginning, and then an exposition of Christian doctrine in the form of a dialogue, a "discipulus" putting the questions, and the "Magister" answering thereto. There are a few introductory hints (in Portuguese) on pronunciation and grammar.

Do Couto dedicated his little book to a special benefactress of the Society, Senhora Isabella de Oliveira Corte-real, who also bore the printing expenses of this first Angola catechism.

In 1661 appeared from Rome a second edition of this work with Latin introductions, and a third column of Latin added to the dialogues, etc., throughout. This was edited by Fr Antonio Maria de Monteprandone Amici, who had come to Loanda with the second Capuchin Mission in 1648. The preparation of this edition was undertaken as a result of the appeal, through the Superior of the Mission, P. Serafino da Cortona, of the queen Nzinga for Missionaries to be sent to her kingdom. Queen Nzinga had been baptized, after very short instruction, in 1622, but soon had lapsed into paganism, joined the cannibalistic Jaga, and waged war against the Portuguese for several decades. In 1648, under the influence of the Capuchins, she showed a desire to return to Christianity. The Mission to her country was actually sent out in 1653, and in this Maria de Monteprandone took part. He afterwards returned to Rome. In 1655 P. Serafino came to Rome as ambassador of the now converted Queen Nzinga, and proposed that a catechism

be prepared in the language of the Kingdom. The Congregation resolved to hand over the revision of do Couto's work to an expert, "if one could be found", and it was not till 1661 that Maria's revision appeared.<sup>13</sup> The title-page of this edition reads as follows:

"Gentilis Angollae Fidei Mysteriis Lusitano olim idiomate per R. P. Antonivm de Covcto Soc. Iesv. Theologum; nunc autem Latino per Fr. Antonivm Mariam, Prandomontanum, Concionatorem Capucinum, Admod. Reu. Patris Procuratoris Generalis Commissarij Socium, Instructus, atque locuplitatus."

This second edition, several copies of which are still extant, is a considerable advance upon the first. Certain additions and corrections were made by Maria, and there were included three pages of "Observationes in legendō idiomate Angollae" in preface, as well as two pages dealing with the "cases" of nouns and pronouns and the numerals, near the end of the book. The notes explaining the pronunciation and spelling brought in Portuguese and Italian for comparison, and Portuguese orthography was used. Some of the notes are extremely interesting; instances of idiomatic contractions (which he terms "synalepha") are given, e.g. **Mac amba ami** (my friend) > **Mac'ami**, and **M'ona uetu** (our son) > **Mon'etu**; while in the final paragraph he records the existence of semantic tone (back in 1661!) without fully realizing what it is. This most important paragraph reads as follows:

"Finally it should be noticed that it is of great importance to pronounce a noun or verb with an accent on the final (syllable), when there is an accent; also to refrain from pronouncing the accent when it is absent. For nouns and verbs are frequently found, that differ in meaning from those that bear the final accent, e.g. **Mùcua** and **mukuà**. **Mùcua** is a fruit; **mucuà** means 'native to' or 'born in such and such a part or region'. Thus, **mucuà Ndongo**, native to or born in the kingdom of Donghi; **mucuà Matamba**, native to or born in the province of Matamba.

<sup>13</sup>For this information I am indebted to P. Laurenz Kilger's article.

**Culuà**<sup>14</sup> (sic), to stand by one who eats in the hope of getting something (just as the Italian poor sometimes do, so that they may receive something from the diner; for this reason they stop or linger) a practice that is also called *Vincar* in the Congo; and **culuà**, which means to fight or quarrel".<sup>15</sup>

A third edition of this work, entitled *Gentilis Angollae Fidei Mysteriis* was printed at Lisbon in 1784 at the Royal Printing Office, on order of Queen Maria I, and published by Missionaries of the Order of S. Francisco. This is also in three columns: Latin, Ndongo and Portuguese.

As recently as 1855 came yet a fourth edition, entitled *Explicações de Doutrina Christã em Portuguez e Angolense, para uso das Missões do interior de Angola*. This book consists of the corrected edition of 1784 together with a "Guia de Conversação" (pp. 93-101). It was edited by Francisco de Sales Ferreira, who was a lieut-colonel in Angola, and was printed at the expenses of Francisco Antonio Flores of Loando, to which place most of the edition was sent.<sup>16</sup>

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Cannecattim<sup>17</sup> criticised do Couto's work as follows: "In it the author turns from Portuguese into Bunda many things pertaining to Christian Doctrine, giving at the same time a few explanations of the doctrine in the dialogue form. In the beginning and the end of the second and the third edition there are a few grammatical rules which are to be found in the catechism of the first edition, and the only thing which is over-and-above this in the above-mentioned editions are a few very brief rules without any example, of which some are not in use, a

thing which creates the presumption that in the Bunda language there has been some variety.

"Not only this but the many and grave defects with which the work is full were the reasons for my not availing myself of it in my observations, practice alone guiding me and the experience of twenty-one years, during which time I dwelt among the Abundos of the Kingdom of Angola, these observations justly deserving the name of the first grammar of the Bunda language.

"To justify the criticism which I make of the above-mentioned catechism, and at the same time to put on their guard readers in its use, I now come to point out its defects seriatim."

Cannecattim then enumerates the following seven defects: (1) The "Bunda" column is excessively short, and could have been made fuller, especially as the author was a native of Angola. (2) Redundancy and circumlocutions occur in portions of the "Bunda" column. (3) The writer does not carry into practice even the few rules which he enumerates himself. (4) His compound words should have been hyphened. (5) He confuses the "pronouns" used with the verb. (6) He uses archaic terms, no longer current. (7) There are numerous printing errors (the first edition being less erroneous than the second), and the punctuation is extremely faulty.

He further sums up his critical remarks by saying:<sup>18</sup>

"The accumulation of so many gross errors, imperfections and essential defects have been the cause why the catechism up to the present labours under an impenetrable obscurity, and for this reason, instead of being helpful and useful, is on the contrary a very grave embarrassment, not only to the Europeans,

<sup>14</sup>This is doubtless a misprint for **Culuà**.

<sup>15</sup>The Latin text is as follows: Denique aduertatur, quod multum refert pronunciare nomen, aut verbum cum accentu in fine, quando habetur: Ita & non pronunciare, quando non adest: quia multoties inueniuntur nomina, & verba, quae diuersam habent significationem ab illis, quae habent accentum in fine. Exempl. **Mucua**. **mucuà**. **Mucua** est quidam fructus. & **mucuà** significat naturale. vel natus in tali, tali parte, aut regione. Exempl. **mucuà Ndongo**. naturalis, vel natus in Regno Donghi. **mucuà Matamba**. naturalis, vel natus in Prouincia Matambae. **Culuà** assistere illi, qui comedit, ut sibi praebeatur aliiquid (quod est idem quod apud Italos aliquando faciunt pauperes, ut detur ipsis aliiquid à comedente; ideo sistunt, vel morantur) quod & in Congo dicitur *Vincar*. Et **Culuà**: quod significat bellare, vel rixari, &c."

<sup>16</sup>Information from No. 393 of Frederick Starr's *A Bibliography of Congo Languages*, University of Chicago Press, 1908.

<sup>17</sup>Cannecattim: *idem*, pp. iv, v.

<sup>18</sup>Cannecattim: *idem*, p. vi-vii.

but even to the very native clergy of Angola.

"Yet the said catechism, in spite of this, does not fail to contain some good things. The Portuguese and Latin columns are accurate: and even the Bunda column is good in that it comprises many expressive terms, there being preserved for many years as if 'on deposit', and which dispense the Abundos with begging from foreign languages those terms which they preserve in their own, and which through carelessness have fallen into oblivion and disuse."

Much of Cannecattim's adverse criticism is of little weight, as it turns upon points of very minor importance, while Cannecattim's own work is open to far more real criticism, as Chatelain observes<sup>19</sup>: Referring to the above, Héli Chatelain writes<sup>20</sup>: "Having examined the work, we are bound to say that the criticism of Cannecattim not only excessive, but unjust. Considering the age in which it was composed, the little book deserves, from the linguistic point of view, every praise for its grammatical correctness as well as for its orthographical consistency, these being such as to lead us to suppose that the author was a son of the soil educated by the Jesuits. The dialect in which it is written is not the modern one of Loanda, nor precisely that of Ambaca: it could be perhaps the one spoken in the XVIIth century in the mission of Cabinda (district of Ambaca). Interesting points are the negation by means of *ne* instead of *ki*, the archaic form of the suffixed pronouns and the absence of contractions, which allows us to prove beyond question by what means the modern contractions are effected."

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#### IV

FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1650-1660 we have references to several Bantu works, most of which, however, cannot be traced to-day. Cannecattim, in his *Observações grammaticae sobre a Lingua Bunda* of 1805<sup>21</sup> has the

following note, when referring to Cardoso's work:

"In the year 1650 an ex-Missionary of my Capuchin order named 'Frei Jacinto Brusciato de Vetalha', addressed himself to print it<sup>22</sup> in Rome in four languages and in separate columns: the first containing the Congo language, the second Portuguese, the third Latin, the fourth Italian. The grammar of which I made mention came into my hands for a few moments, but at a time when I did not want it, and I suppose its author to be the same Father Vetalha."

The above is the earliest reference I can trace to what is evidently a second edition of Cardoso's translation (1624) of Jorge's work. The title of this work is:

"Doctrina christiana ad profectum Missionis totius Regni Congi in quatuor linguis per correlativas columnas distincta, et Eminentiss. ac Reverendis S.R.E. Cardinalibus SRC. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide exhibita & dicata a F. Hyacintho a Vetalha Concionatore Capuccino in Romana Provincia nunc diffinitore, alias missionario transmissio.—Romae, typis et sumptibus eiusdem Sac. Congreg. 1650."

P. Edouard d'Alencon in his "Essai de Bibliographie Capucino-Congolaise" (in *Neerlandia Franciscana*, I, Iseghem, 1914, pp. 39, 40), states that Brusciotto (Brugiotti) wanted to make Cardoso's catechism useful to the Capuchin Mission (Italian and Spanish) sent by the College of Cardinals for the Propagation of the Faith from Rome. This college was striving after the unification of Missionary work on an international basis, and a restriction of the Jesuit work under the patronage of the Portuguese king. For this reason Brusciotto supplemented the catechism with a Latin and Italian translation, and his work was printed at the printing office of the "Congregation" in Francesco Paolini's house near to the Torre del Grillo, Rome. Unfortunately Brusciotto had designated himself in the title as sole author, though he had copied the Portuguese and

<sup>19</sup>See below, section X.

<sup>20</sup>Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu, p. xv, xvi.

<sup>21</sup>pp. 151 et seq.

<sup>22</sup>The *Doutrina Christãa*.

Kongo texts verbatim from Cardoso's book. This action did not improve the strained relations between the Portuguese Jesuits and the foreign Capuchins in the Congo.<sup>23</sup>

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Brusciotto is also credited with a quadrilingual Kongo dictionary, in the same year, 1650. It is possible that the vocabulary of 1,000 words in the "Sonho" dialect, appended to Cannecattim's Ndongo grammar (arranged in Portuguese, Latin, Congo (Sonho) and "Bundo") contains an abbreviated copy of Brusciotto's dictionary.

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During this period were compiled the manuscript works of Antoine de Tervelli (or Teruel). This priest arrived at "Sonho" in March 1648, whence he proceeded to San Salvador. From there he was sent with Fr Gabriel de Valence to Mbata, where they worked together for about a year. Tervelli was then put in charge of the mission at Nsundi, and a few months later sent to Nkusu where he met Fr Joseph de Pernambouc, a master of the Kongo language. Tervelli was stimulated to a study of the language "si nécessaire à un missionnaire", as Labat remarks, and with the help of his colleague made such good progress that he compiled both a grammar and a dictionary, the latter of Kongo and Spanish, which were of great assistance to the monks who came afterwards, so testifies Labat.<sup>24</sup> The manuscripts attributed to Tervelli are (i) a Kongo-Spanish Dictionary prepared about 1652, (ii) a Kongo grammar of about the same date, written in Spanish, and (iii) a work entitled "Un vocabolario copioso in quattro lingue, cioè italiana, latina, spagnola e del Congo", undated but considered by J. van Wing not to antedate 1657. Cavazzi testifies that he saw these MSS. in the archives of the Congregation de la Propagande at Rome.<sup>25</sup>

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## V

Another manuscript of this same period was rescued from oblivion by the efforts of two Jesuit priests, J. van Wing and C. Penders, and published by the Bibliothèque-Congo in 1928 under the title of *Le Plus Ancien Dictionnaire Bantu — Het Oudste Bantu-Woordenboek*. This is a Latin-Spanish-Kongo dictionary written about 1652 by Fr. Georges de Gheel or Joris van Gheel, of which the Latin title is: "Vocabularium Latinum, Hispanicum, et Congense. Ad Usum Missionariorū transmittendorū ad Regni Congi Missiones". Unfortunately the present editors have not published the manuscript in the form in which it was written, viz. Latin-Spanish-Kongo, but have taken out the 7,000 odd Kongo words alphabetically, and then added French and Dutch equivalents. Since the publishing of such a work to-day is not of everyday practical worth, but of great value to students, such a method of handling the manuscript is the opposite of scientific. The claim of the editors that this is "the oldest Bantu dictionary" is difficult to substantiate. Brusciotto's 1650 dictionary, not now extant, is the oldest of which we have a record. From the introduction to the published edition, and elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> the following facts are obtainable regarding van Gheel.

Joris van Gheel was a Belgian born on the 8th August 1617. His original name was Adrian Willems. He received his higher education at Gheel, and took theological studies at Antwerp. He entered the Capuchin order at the age of 25. After six years he was "designated", in 1648, together with six compatriots and sent to Africa, having been interested in mission work in the Congo, by two missionaries who visited Belgium. He left for Spain and thence reached Pinda, at the Congo mouth, in June 1651, in company with Fr Erasmus of Furnes and the Superior, Johannes Franciscus of Rome.

<sup>23</sup>I am indebted to P. Laurenz Kilger's article for this information. See also a footnote to Van Wing and Penders *Le Plus Ancien Dictionnaire Bantu*, pp. xi, xii.

<sup>24</sup>Labat, O. P., *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*, Paris, 1732, III, p. 239.

<sup>25</sup>Cavazzi, *Istorica descrizione de tre Regni Congo, Matamba e Angola*, Bologna, 1687, book IV, 42.

<sup>26</sup>Hildebrand: "Nieuwe Bijdrage over Joris van Geel", in *Kongo-Overzee*, Vol. I, p. 103.

Erasmus was sent to Sonho, and Joris to the interior, to the district of Matadi.

A short journal of missionary itineration by Joris van Gheel is preserved to us, written in the same hand as the manuscript dictionary and occupying the last sheet thereof. On one of these journeys he met his death in December 1652. Van Gheel entered the village of Ulolo and found the chief and his people sacrificing to an idol named "Misquisses", the officiating priest was the "Nganga" Esungo. Van Gheel upbraided them for idolatry—a thing forbidden to Christians. They heard him in silence. He thereupon collected together all the idols and statuettes into a hut and set fire to it, destroying them all. The chief and people were enraged and attacked the 'father' with sticks and stones, and left him stretched dying on the ground. He was later dragged away some distance, when another priest came to his assistance; but he died after some days of suffering. It is stated that the King of Congo ordered the arrest of the murderers and had them sold as slaves to the Portuguese. So ended this missionary's career through misplaced zeal in interfering with Native custom!

The question as to whether Joris van Gheel was actually the author or but a copyist is discussed at some length in the introduction to the recently published work.

There can be no doubt, however, that he copied a manuscript known to be in existence at the Mission Station of San Salvador before his arrival. Joris was only a beginner, having been under two years in the country at the time of his death. Though the dictionary is probably not the work of a single person, it is practically certain that in the main it is to be ascribed to Roboredo,<sup>27</sup> a Spaniard whose name is the only one mentioned in the original text.

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## VI

The most important, by far, of all the contributors to our knowledge of Bantu at

this period was **Giacinto Brusciotto**, an Italian priest of the Capuchin order, who was born at Vetralla. His name in Latin is given as *Hyacinthus Brusciottus a Vetralla*, and in the Portuguese as *Jacinto Brusciato de Vetralla*, but he is generally known by his Italian name of Brusciotto. We know practically nothing of his life and career, except that he went as a missionary of his order to Africa, and rose to become "Prefect of the Apostolic Mission of the Catholic Church to the Kingdom of Congo".

We have already referred to two books credited to Brusciotto in the year 1650, his quadrilingual Kongo Dictionary, and his Christian Doctrine. But we have no clear trace of either of these works. In 1659, however, Brusciotto published at Rome a little book which has earned for him lasting reputation in Bantu language study—the first grammar of a Bantu language. The title of this book, which is written in Latin is: *Regulae quaedam pro difficillimi Congensium idiomatis facilitiori captu ad grammaticae normam redactae*<sup>28</sup>—"Some Rules for the more easy understanding of the most difficult idiom of the people of the Congo, brought into the form of a grammar".

The importance of this work was realized by H. Grattan Guinness who edited an English translation in 1882 under the title of *Grammar of the Congo Language as spoken two hundred years ago, translated from the Latin of Brusciotto*. In 1886 there was published at Loanda a Portuguese translation entitled *Regras para, mais facil intelligencia do difficil idioma do Congo, reduzidas á forma de grammatica por Fr. Jacintho Brusciotto*. The translation was made by T. da Silva Leitão Castro, and was followed by an abbreviated Congo Dictionary. W. Holman Bentley, the Congo Missionary and author of the standard *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*<sup>29</sup> (1887) wrote:

"I have carefully examined these 'Rules', and am convinced that the dialect to which they refer is not that of the court of

<sup>27</sup>Hildebrand, *idem*, p. 115.

<sup>28</sup>I have examined four copies of this work in the British Museum: there are also copies in the Angelica Library, Rome, in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and elsewhere.

<sup>29</sup>On p. xii of the Preface thereto.

Kongo, but that of Sonyo or St. Antonio, on the left bank at the mouth of the river, now spoken by the Osolongo (or Mu-Sorongo or Mu-shi-Rongo). The use of the verb *zitisa*, to love; the constant employment of the letter *R* instead of *D*, with other points, accord fully with the vocabulary of Cannecattim (which will be noted shortly), and which he describes as the Sonho dialect. Further, Cannecattim declares that the use of *D* instead of *R* is characteristic of the old translation made at the Court of Kongo in 1624; we find the same to be the case to-day.

"I am therefore confirmed in my opinion that the differences between Vetralla's work, and the language as spoken in Kongo to-day, do not point to great changes in the language, but to the fact that his work, like Cannecattim's, concerns the Solongo dialect; while the peculiarities of court Kongo pointed out by Cannecattim as existing in 1624, characterize it to-day. We have therefore no proof of serious change. Vetralla's work is very imperfect, being little more than he so modestly asserts."

When we closely examine, however, the contents of this little book we feel we cannot agree so readily to Bentley's final remark. Of the four copies examined in the British Museum library one contained two interesting folding sheets of tables (which we reproduce elsewhere) exemplifying the various concords which reveal that Brusciotto was really quite advanced in his method of treatment. These tables, absent from the other three copies in the library, were not seen by Guinness and therefore not included in his English translation.

After a general preface addressed to the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, Brusciotto commences his work with the Noun, as follows:

"Of the Declension of Nouns, or, as it is better expressed, their Principiation, and their Rules; wherein it is shown what Arti-

cles are to be attributed to each noun, both in direct and oblique cases, for their correct construction in themselves, or when they are joined to other words; and generally this is first to be noted, that in the present tongue we must not look for declensions, but rather Principiations, for which we have the following Rules. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

Being a Latin scholar Brusciotto naturally first looked for declensions of the nouns in Kongo and hence for a system of cases. What he noticed at once was that the inflection of the nouns was prefixal and not suffixal, and so he coined the term "principiations" to indicate the categories into which the nouns fell, according to their first element. These principiations we call to-day the Noun classes. What we to-day call concords, Brusciotto called "articles"; he used the term, however, more particularly and basically of the possessive concord (**a**, **na**, **ma**, **ria**, etc.). The reason for this is clearly explained by Dr Werner on pp. 72-73 of her *Bantu Languages*, Brusciotto having the Italian *del*, *dello*, *della*, etc. (*di*, of, plus the article) to influence him.

Brusciotto then proceeds to the rules dividing the eight principiations of Kongo, classifying singular and plural together in each case into one class. Dealing with the "First Principiation", for instance, he writes:<sup>31</sup> "Nouns of this Principiation begin with **E**, and their article is **Ria**, as **Etondo ria n'Zambianpungu**, Praise of God. In the plural they make **ma**, and their article is **ma**, as **Matondo ma n'Zambianpungu**, Praises of God". But his division into principiations is made according to concord ("Article") and not noun prefix. For instance of the "Second Principiation", he states:<sup>32</sup> "Nouns of this Principiation being in **Mu**, **U**, or **O**: their article is **ua** . . . . In the plural, those which begin in **Mu** make **Mi** . . . . but those which begin in **U** and **O** are commonly without a plural: but if they chance to have a plural, those beginning with **U** will make **Ma**. . . . ."

Elsewhere<sup>33</sup> Brusciotto applies the term

<sup>30</sup>page 1.

<sup>31</sup>page 2.

<sup>32</sup>page 3.

<sup>33</sup>page 4.

"article" to the initial vowel of a noun prefix, as the first vowel of **omufumu**. He does not discuss the signification of the principiations, except to observe that the fifth 'principiation contains infinite verbs set in place of a noun, beginning with **cu**, as **cusonseca**, writing or to write'.<sup>34</sup>

After dealing with the eighth principiation<sup>35</sup> Brusciotto quaintly observes for the encouragement of learners: "Note, with regard to the preceding, that there is no rule so strictly observed as to be without many exceptions, all which by practice, and the Spirit of God inspiring, will be easily understood, and by continuous and unwearied labour overcome." As Werner observes,<sup>36</sup> "Exceptions are the refuge of the imperfect grammarian, and a knowledge of the Bantu languages, unattainable by our pioneer (though not, in his case, for want of 'continuous and unwearied labour'), would have shown that they usually exemplify rules not immediately obvious."

Naturally Brusciotto's phonetic equipment was not what a Bantu linguist is expected to have to-day; nevertheless he should not have missed the Kongo law of nasal assimilation. He writes:<sup>37</sup> "Note, generally, that words of this language beginning with the letters B, D, P, S, Z and U, when it stands for a consonant, require before them the letter N, by virtue of which a weight is given to the word in its pronunciation. Elsewhere, too, he writes, **np**, **nb**, etc., when the Kongo forms are **mp**, **nt**, **nk**, and so on with homorganic nasal.

Pages 13 and 14 of the 1659 Latin edition are occupied by the folded concord tables, appended to this paper. After these tables, Brusciotto writes<sup>38</sup> "As has been said above, the language of the Congos, and others of Negro Lands, is not founded, nor forms its rules upon the declension of words, but on their principiation; therefore the rules which

are chiefly taken from the various principiations of the substantives, and varied accordingly." The principle of concordial agreement with each principiation is exemplified in Chapters I-VIII under the main heading "De Constructione, deriuatione, ac variatione Adiectiuorum, seu Pronominum, hic, ille, iste, idem, vel qui, quae, etc."<sup>39</sup>

Chapter IX is headed "Of Interrogative Pronouns"; X "Of Adverbs"; XI "Of the Conjunction"; and XII "Of the Preposition". All the examples under this last heading are according to the grammatical significance of the Latin equivalent. No critical enquiry has been made into the real function of the Kongo words.

Chapter XIII "Of the Interjection"; XIV "Of the Verb and Conjugation"; XV "The Mode of forming Preterites", in which he gives the rules for forming the perfect stem; XVI "Of Verbs Respective and Intransitive". Here the applied form of the verb is dealt with under the term "Respectivus", a very apt description, and examples of its use indicating "for" and "location", with suffix **-ila**, are given. Brusciotto has noted, to his credit, that the "preterite" of "respective" verbs has long penultimate vowel, a phenomenon common to many Central Bantu Languages. Bentley<sup>40</sup> has recorded in this circumstance a penultimate "accent"; but Meinhof in his analysis of Kongo phonology<sup>41</sup> makes no remark in this connection. The terms "intransitiuus" Brusciotto uses for the reflexive.

Chapter XVII "On the Formation of Verbs Mandative and Negative"; XVIII "The Mode of Forming Nouns from Verbs"; XIX "General Rules for the Construction of Verbs". Chapters XXI-XXV provide other sections dealing with the verb, tenses, moods, etc., all on the Latin model.

are distinguished and marked in this idiom.

Chapter XXVI deals with "Some Rules

<sup>34</sup>page 7-8.

<sup>35</sup>page 10.

<sup>36</sup>*Bantu Languages*, page 34.

<sup>37</sup>page 12.

<sup>38</sup>page 15.

<sup>39</sup>page 16.

<sup>40</sup>*Dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Language*, p. 642.

<sup>41</sup>Meinhof and van Warmelo, *Bantu Phonology*, pp. 155 et seq

and Annotations most useful in the matter of Nouns and Particular Verbs". Here, in Section 19,<sup>42</sup> are given three examples of ideophones, a Bantu part of speech not even recognized by Bentley nearly 230 years later. The section reads "Res albissima, dicitur *cee*; valde rubra, *bua*; niger, *rima*"—A very white thing is expressed by *cee*; very red by *bua*; black by *rima*.

Chapter XXVII deals with "Some Rules concerning Numbers"; while XXVIII deals with relationship terms, (a) direct line descendants, (b) the transverse line of consanguinity, (c) transverse line of descendants, (d) transverse line of ascendants, and (e) some names of affinity.

Such a work, though it occupies but 98 pages—the first grammatical treatment of any Bantu language—hardly deserves the criticism of Cust<sup>43</sup> that "the book is very small, and the author was not a Linguist". Werner more generously, and I think more truly, appraises Brusciotto's work: "Judging from his book," she writes,<sup>44</sup> "his linguistic aptitudes were of no mean order, and no doubt he had profited by many years' residence in the country. It is remarkable, at least, that he succeeded in grasping the principle of the noun-classes, which eluded more than one of his successors. We have seen that Lichtenstein missed it; and—even more unaccountably—Burton, writing about 1860, with the work of Krapf and Rebmann before him, could speak of 'the artful and intricated system of irregular plurals in Swahili'.<sup>45</sup> In Cavazzi's *History of the Kingdom of Congo*,<sup>46</sup> first published in 1671, it is stated that a missionary, after six years spent in trying to learn the rules of the language, only found out that there were none! It is strange that this book takes no notice whatever of Brusciotto or his grammar". Yet Brusciotto was sufficiently versed in Kongo to use ideophones!

Brusciotto was the discoverer of the Bantu noun class and concord system, and the first recorder of Bantu verbal derivatives. We give him the praise which he deserves!

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## VII

We now pass to the *other side of Africa*, and note that by the third quarter of the XVIIth century work had begun on the vernaculars of the lower Zambezi, where the Portuguese had for a considerable period established themselves. Portuguese settlement at Sena and Tette on the river, as we have seen, demanded the presence of priests for their ministration, and, of necessity, they turned their attention to the Bantu languages there. P. P. Schebesta, S.V.D., published in *Anthropos*<sup>47</sup> under the title of "Eine Bantu-grammatik aus dem 17 Jahrhundert", a Portuguese manuscript entitled "Arte da lingua de Cafre", which he discovered in the Biblioteca National d'Ajuda in Lisbon among a number of Jesuit manuscripts<sup>48</sup>. The document comprising 42 pages was undated, but was among other documents of the year 1680. From its condition it is evidently a copy and not the author's original. No name of author is discoverable. The language dealt with is—probably an early dialect of Sena. The position of modern Sena and Nyungwe in relation to this manuscript is discussed by the editor. The present state of the MS. shews a large number of unintelligent copyist's errors, e.g. **chifua rācō** instead of **chifua chācō**—the copyist evidently understood nothing of the concord.

The manuscript deals with a few general notes on the pronouns (equivalent to the Portuguese 1st, 2nd and 3rd pers. s. and p.) and their use with verbs, then examples of varying possessives with nouns, some demonstratives, and adjectives in concordial agreement with nouns. After this the great bulk

<sup>42</sup>page 74.

<sup>43</sup>R. N. Cust, *The Modern Languages of Africa*, p. 407.

<sup>44</sup>The Bantu Languages, page 31.

<sup>45</sup>Zanzibar, I, 443.

<sup>46</sup>Istorica Descrizione de' tre Regni Congo, Matamba et Angola, situati nell'Etiopia Inferiore Occidentale e delle Missioni Apostoliche esercitavisi da Religiosi Capuccini, accuramente compilata del P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo. (Milan, 1671).

<sup>47</sup>Band XIV-XV, 1919-1930, pp. 764-787.

<sup>48</sup>Kodex B.B.A. 49, V, 18, fol. 201.

of the work is taken up with tense after tense of the verb set out for each of the three persons in Portuguese and Sena, following all the classical moods and tense nomenclature. First is treated the "verbo substantivo", using **-ri** "to be", and **cucara** (**chara** or **cahara**, according to the copyist's whim) "to sit, remain, be", in perfect, "pluperfect" and future tenses. Positive and negative tenses are given throughout. Next is treated the verb **cuanga** or **cuyanga** "to love", active and passive at considerable length, occupying over ten pages. After this come shorter treatments of **cucoza** "to be able", **cufuna** "to desire", and **cuchita** "to do".

The manuscript ends with some further notes on possessives, certain remarks on some prepositions and adverbs and a page of phrases in Portuguese and Sena.

Though this work treats at surprising length of the verbs, it is by no means in the same class as Brusciotto's grammar. The principle of the noun classes is not recognized, and the result is a confusing jumble of examples as far as concord is concerned.

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Records of 17th-century catechisms in Zambesi dialects are given, but hitherto none of these MSS. has come to light. In the *Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires* of 1878 it is recorded<sup>49</sup> (on p. 797) that two catechisms were written in the seventeenth century by Dominican missionaries stationed at Tette, but never published. These would probably be in the Nyungwe dialect. Fr Lucas de Santa Catharina in his *Historia de San Domingos*<sup>50</sup> noted that the Zambesi missionaries of the 17th century had left behind them grammatical documents and catechisms in various Zambesi dialects. Possibly some of these may yet come to light.

## VIII

At the very end of the 17th century, in 1697 **Father Pedro Dias, S.J.**, published at Lisbon an Angola grammar entitled *Arte da lingua de Angola, oferecida<sup>51</sup> a Virgem Senhora N. do Rosario, MÃ©y, and Senhora dos mesmos Pretos*. Dias was born at Gouveia in 1621, and entered the novitiate of the Jesuit order in 1641. He became rector of Olinda and died at Bahia in Brazil in 1700. His little quarto book contains 48 pages in addition to a short introductory section. It is the first grammatical treatise on the Ndongo language. I consider Dias's little book<sup>52</sup> to be a valuable contribution to the study of Bantu. He goes to considerable trouble to classify the nouns, showing the varying inflexion for plural formation, and the correct adjectival and possessive concords to use with them. For instance, he writes: "Todos os nomes, que no singular começarem pelas syllabas, ou letras abaxo, começarão no plurar em **Ma**, & seu adjetivo no singular começará em **Ri**, & no plurar em **A**, v.g. **Nbata rinène**, casa grande. **Mabata anène**, casas grandes."<sup>52a</sup> Dias records the diminutive class "**Ca Tu**", and uses the term "concord", e.g. "porque estes concordaõ no singular em **Qui**, v.g. **Quiluangui quinene**, senhor grande."<sup>53</sup> He treats the verb in the Latin way, and though his treatment of the negative is inadequate, he at least attempts to deal with it. The formation of nouns from verbs is not overlooked, and he devotes sixteen pages to syntax. Héli Chaletain gave a fair appraisement of the work when he stated<sup>54</sup> that "despite the incorrectness of the Portuguese and impropriety of the terminology, yet it proves that the author understood the mechanism of Kimbundu". Later<sup>55</sup> Chatelain characterized Dias's work as "A very short, but pretty correct, sketch of Ki-mbundu grammar;" and, when men-

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Torrend, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Bantu Languages*, p. xxiv.

<sup>50</sup>Book IV, Ch. XIV.

<sup>51</sup>Misprint for *offerecida*.

<sup>52</sup>There is a copy in the British Museum No. 621a 30. In 1854 Dr W. H. I. Bleek copied out this for his own use, recopying it in 1859, and I was able in 1935 to make a copy for my use from Bleek's.

<sup>52a</sup>Page 4.

<sup>53</sup>Page 6.

<sup>54</sup>*Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu*, p. xvi.

<sup>55</sup>In 1894: *Folk-Tales of Angola*, p. 23.

tioning Oliveira and Francina's grammar of 1864, said that Dias's work "surpasses it in grammatical value". Father Torrend<sup>56</sup> stated regarding it, that he had found in it several precious observations which he had noticed nowhere else. The object of this publication was evidently to explain and enlarge the brief grammatical rules accompanying Pacconio's catechism, and to add numerous examples thereto. So little known was this book that Cannecattim, the author of the next Ndongo grammar (in 1805), makes no mention of it, and could not have known of its existence.

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Héli Chatelain draws our attention to a third Ndongo production, a religious song called *O Mukunji*—"The Missive", which must have appeared early in the 18th century. This work, undated and bearing no name of author, is preserved both in the memory of the people and in some most imperfect manuscripts. The subject matter deals with the story of Jesus from his birth to his death. With this work terminates the literary period of the Jesuits in Angola.

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## IX

From the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century there seems to be an almost complete blank in Bantu publications. We have noted that in 1784 was published the 3rd edition of *Gentilis Angollae Fidei Mysteriis*, and that during the 18th century manuscript copies of *O Mukunji* were made. Probably there were other publications during this century, but we have no record of them. Three or four manuscripts have come down to us; these we shall refer to presently.

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During this period, however, indeed commencing from 1682, we have a number of

vocabularies or word-lists recorded in the writings of travellers and others.

In 1682 **Father Jerom Merolla da Sorrento**, "a Capuchin and Apostolick Missioner" published *A Voyage to Congo and several other Countries chiefly in Southern Africa*. To this publication he added "The explanation of some few Conghese words inserted in this work, and made English for the ease of the reader." This little vocabulary contains 108 words in the usual Portuguese orthography.

**Barbot**, a Frenchman in the service of the French Royal Company of Africa, in his *Description of Guinea*, written about the same time, included short vocabularies of Kongo and of a dialect of north-west Cameroons believed by Sir Harry H. Johnston to be Barundo<sup>57</sup>; this latter, attributed to the "land of Ambozes", Ambas Bay, comprises the first five numerals: **mo, ba, malela, melei, matau**.

In 1700 "James Barbot, junior, Super-cargo, and John Casseneuve, First Mate, in the Ten per cent Ship Don Carlos of London" contributed, *An Abstract of a Voyage to Congo River, or the Zaire, and to Cabinde*. In this was included a "Vocabulary of the Angoy Language of Cabinde" of 33 words, the numbers 1-15, etc., and 18 "Conghese" words taken from Merolla. This Barbot was probably a son of the previous.

Regarding these, Bentley<sup>58</sup> writes: "I have also examined the vocabularies of Barbot, and Merolla and that in Douville's *Voyages*<sup>59</sup>; beyond the fact of their being very short, there is little to comment upon; most of the words can be recognized, in spite of careless and quaint spelling."

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In 1776 the Abbé Proyart, the French historical writer, published at Paris his *History of Loango, Kakongo and other kingdoms in Africa*<sup>60</sup>. In Part I of this he devotes chapter XIX to the language. After

<sup>56</sup>Who also consulted Bleek's handwritten copy.

<sup>57</sup>H. H. Johnston, *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, I, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, p. xii.

<sup>59</sup>Much later, 1828-1830.

<sup>60</sup>Full title *Histoire de Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique; rédigée d'après les Mémoires des Préfets apostoliques de la Mission française; enrichie d'une carte utile aux navigateurs; dédiée à Monsieur (frère du Roi)*.

dilating on the lack of language treatment in books of travel and history, Proyart proceeds to give some brief notes on the Kakongo language. He deals with the orthography and pronunciations, and then: "The language has not, properly speaking, either genders, numbers or cases"; but later: "The cases are distinguished as with us, by articles, and it is the same with the nouns. The nominative of the verb has its case distinguished by the place it occupies in the phrase." After discussing at length the lack of comparatives, he writes: "They also want the conjunction *and*; they supply it by another, which has the signification of *our with*, or otherwise they repeat it . . . for example . . . the army was powerful, it was trained to war; a mode of expression which, properly managed, has a fine effect in discourse." Further: "One of the great difficulties of the language consists in the articles; there are thirteen of them, seven for the singular and six for the plural. Those of the singular are **i**, **bou**, **li**, **kou**, **ou**, **lou**, and those for the plural **i**, **ba**, **bi**, **ma**, **tou**, **zi**. Each of these articles has under it a class of substantives to which only it can be joined. The article of **ka**, which signifies a bed, is **ki** for the singular and **bi** for the plural. A person would not be understood if, changing the articles, he said **li-ka** in the singular for **ki-ka**, or **zi-ka** in the plural for **bi-ka**." So does Proyart conceive of the noun-classes: but he at least recognizes them. Proceeding, he notes the "multiplication of tenses" of the verb, and then adds: "Each simple verb has under it a many other verbs, of which it is the root, and which, besides the principal signification, have an accessory one, which we render only by periphrases; **sala**, for example, means to work; **salila**, to facilitate work; **salisia**, to work along with some one; **salisila**, to make a person work for someone's profit; **sazia**, to help someone to work; **salanga**, to be in the habit of working; **salasiana**, to work for each other; **salangana**, to be fit for work. . . . This multiplicity of verbs, joined to all

the modifications of which they are susceptible, form an inexhaustible fountain of riches for the language, and display beauties which cannot be felt and appreciated but by use." The Abbé concludes his Essay by drawing comparisons with Hebrew and Greek, but refrains from assigning "all the relations which this language may have with the ancient tongues".

After reading his work it is difficult to believe that, as far as we know, Proyart never went to Africa, but wrote this book from notes supplied to him by two colleagues of his who had been missionaries. His understanding of the language-structure, nevertheless, must have been considerable. Liévin Bonaventure Proyart was born at Arras about 1743. He adopted the ecclesiastical profession, and devoting his time to public instruction, he was employed to organize the college of Puy, which under his direction became one of the most flourishing schools in France. Being a canon in the Cathedral of Arras, he was at the commencement of the Revolution deprived of his preferment and obliged to migrate to the Netherlands. He returned to France on the conclusion of the concordat but on publishing his work entitled *Louis XVI et ses Vertus aux Prises avec la Perversité de son Siècle*, he was arrested and confined in the Bicetre, a treatment which he did not long survive. He died on 22nd March 1808. His works are numerous, 17 volumes in all<sup>61</sup>.

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In the Grenville Library of the British Museum<sup>62</sup> is a remarkable Kakongo-French manuscript Dictionary written in 1772. This was written by an unknown French missionary, possibly one of Proyart's informants<sup>63</sup>. H. H. Johnston, surmising the author to be Proyart himself, wrote: "This author, in his *Histoire du Loango*, published at Paris in 1776, gives a short vocabulary of Kakongo<sup>64</sup>; but the MS. dictionary of 1772 is a remarkable compilation. It is written in

<sup>61</sup>Information from the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, and Mauder's *Biographical Treasury*.

<sup>62</sup>MS. 33779, Congo Dictionary.

<sup>63</sup>But see the quotations below.

<sup>64</sup>I can find no trace of this Vocabulary in his 1776 edition.

a beautifully clear hand in eighteenth-century French, but with the Kakongo words spelt after the phonetic system of to-day. The author has quite grasped the principle of the prefixes. . . . It illustrates northern Kakongo, not Kikongo.<sup>65</sup> Of this work, Bentley<sup>66</sup> writes: "At the suggestion of Dr Cust, I have examined a French-Congo (?) Dictionary MS. of 990 pp., in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, it is about 100 years old, and nothing is known as to its authorship. I believe it to be of the Kakongo or Kabinda dialect. Unfortunately I cannot speak positively, because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the language. It is not Loango, for the natives of that district have worked for us, and I know something of their dialect. Some peculiarities which I had noticed in Kabinda accord with some found in the Dictionary. The compiler has been careless over his nasals; and while the production is interesting, it is far from correct." Guinness in 1882<sup>67</sup>, said he was having this MS. copied "with a view to publication at an early date". Unfortunately this intention was never carried into effect.

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Bentley<sup>68</sup> further draws attention to certain 18th century manuscripts discovered in 1886 by the R. P. Duperquet, préfet apostolique of Cimbebasie, in the Museum of the Propaganda at Rome, amongst which was the archives of the old Loango mission, bound in a strong volume, including:

- (a) *Essay d'une grammaire Congo suivant l'accent Kakongo ou Malemba*, 48 pages quarto.
- (b) *Dictionnaire Congo-français*, complete from the letter A-Z, containing 17 cahiers.

Accompanying these is a "Registre des baptêmes mariages, et décès pendant les deux années 1774 et 1775", of 35 pages "signed by M. Descouvières, then Prefect of the Loango Mission."

The following quotation from Proyart's

*Histoire de Loango, Kakongo, etc.*, Part II, Chapter X, may throw some light on the origin of the dictionary. Writing of the missionaries Descouvières and Joli, who first went to Kinguele in the "Kingdom of Kakongo", north of the Congo mouth, in 1768, he states:

"The missionaries, however, who felt that their ministry would really be useful to these nations only when they knew perfectly their language, hastened to take up its study anew, which their ill-health, travels and the difficulties of their new establishment had interrupted. Having nobody to direct them, they made use of the Dictionary they had composed on the coast, and to which they had added a collection of the most-used phrases. By dint of studies and combinations, they discovered several principles; but they also met with a great number of difficulties. When they had carried their researches as far as they could, they had recourse to the Negro *Sogné*, who had so usefully served them in the composition of their Dictionary; they contracted with him to spend a month with them. He helped them to understand what embarrassed them, pointing out to them either general rules which had escaped them or exceptions which seemed to contradict those principles. They then found themselves in a position to compose a short Discourse to begin their teaching, and they went on exercising themselves in the study of the language, taking notes about the difficulties they came across, in order to have them explained when they found an opportunity. It soon occurred, by their making the acquaintance of one of the sons of the King named *Boman*, who knew the language well, and who, having lived a long time at a French station, understood ours tolerably well. *Boman* used often to come and spend part of the day with the missionaries; and he had no greater pleasure than to hear them speak about religion. He eagerly

<sup>65</sup>Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, I, p. 802.

<sup>66</sup>Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, p. xii (published 1886).

<sup>67</sup>Grammar of the Congo Language, As spoken two Hundred Years Ago, p. v.

<sup>68</sup>Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, pp. xii, xiii.

availed himself of their proposal that he should help them to translate into the language of the country a catechism and some prayers. He combined with a happy memory so great a desire to be instructed that, what he heard once, he always remembered. When he was made to translate what concerned a mystery, he recalled what related to it in his former translations; so that by obliging the missionaries, he gained for himself the precious advantage of becoming perfectly acquainted with the truth of the Faith; and when the Catechism was finished, he said to them: 'I am a Christian by conviction; and I wish from the bottom of my heart to be one in deed, by receiving from you the grace of Baptism'.

There is no further trace of the catechism here mentioned, but in chapter XIII Proyart mentions the grammar. Referring to one of the same two missionaries,<sup>69</sup> who, broken in health, had to return to France, he states:

"It was in the month of January in the year 1770 that he embarked on his return. As his health improved day by day, he employed the time of the voyage in perfecting himself in the study of the language. He composed for his own use and for that of his colleagues a grammar in which he brought together the principles and rules in the greatest order and method possible to him."

We may fairly safely, then, place the date of the writing of the *Essay d'une grammaire* as 1770, and the authorship either M. Descourvières or M. Joli, most probably the former, as he became, "Préfet de la Mission" on his return to Africa in June 1773. The Dictionary is probably attributable to both of these missionaries during the years 1768-1770. The grammatical notes were used by them in 1772 in preparing the new missionaries who went out with them the next year.

## X

The closing name in connection with this "age of Brusciotto" is that of **Fr. Bernardo**

**Maria de Cannecattim**, an Italian Capuchin of the Province of Palermo, who became missionary Apostolic and Prefect of the Missions of Angola and the Congo, until 1805, when he became Superior of the Hospicio dos Missionarios Capuchinhos Italianos in Lisbon.

In 1804 Cannecattim published at Lisbon his *Diccionario da Lingua Bunda, ou Angolense, explicada na Portugueza, e Latina*; and in 1805, also at Lisbon, his *Collecção de Observações Grammaticaes Sobre a Lingua Bunda ou Angolense*,<sup>70</sup> which achieved a second edition as late as 1859. Regarding these works Héli Chatelain,<sup>70</sup> the author of the *Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu*, a discerning scholar, makes scathing comment, throwing back at Cannecattim his bitter criticism of Do Couto's 1642 work—"O cumulo pois de tantos e tão grosseiros erros, imperfeições e defeitos essenciaes tem sido a causa de que o Cathecismo até ao presente labore em uma obscuridade impenetravel, e por isso, em vez de auxilio e utilidade, serve ao contrario de um gravissimo embaraço não só aos europeus, mas até aos mesmos ecclesiasticos naturaes de Angola.—Não deixa contudo assim mesmo de encerrar alguma cousa boa", etc. "For example," writes Chatelain, "in the Dictionary, the most usual roots and some accepted translations in the grammar: the general traces of noun classifications and of conjugation, and further the glimpse of the affinity which thus binds together almost all the languages of the Negroes; all this, however, is mixed up with so many errors and so much Latin instead of African grammar, that it is necessary to know the language in order to be able to distinguish that which holds good from the large amount which is false."

And Chatelain goes on to acclaim the Jesuit fathers of the 17th century as superior linguistically to the Capuchin friar of the 19th!

\* \* \*

These two books of Cannecattim's are still to be met with occasionally in bookseller's catalogues. The dictionary is a large book of

<sup>69</sup>Proyart does not mention which.

<sup>70</sup>On page xvii of his *Grammatica* (1889); see Section III above.

720 pages as well as a nine-page introduction. The body of the work is arranged in three columns, Portuguese — Latin — "Mbundu", and comprises over 10,000 "Mbundu" words, really a large compilation for the very beginning of the 19th century, and reflecting on the author's industry, despite Chatelain's criticism. The grammar comprises twenty pages of introduction followed by 218 pages. There is much interesting matter in the introduction, and it is in this that Cannecattim so strongly criticizes Do Couto. Pages 1-133 comprise the grammar. In this the treatment of the noun closely accords to that of Proyart, in the importance given to the "articles". A full set of cases, nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative, is given. The nouns, however, are divided into four "declensions", (i) sing. **m**, plur. **a**, and plur. **mi** for initial (i.e. **mu-a**, **mu-mi**); (ii) sing. **n**, plur. **ji**, and sing. various, plur. **ji**; (iii) sing. **q**, plur. **i** (i.e. **ki-i**); (iv) sing. **r**, plur. **m** (i.e. **ri-ma**), and some in other singular initials with plural in **m**, (i.e. **u**, **lu**, **tu**, **ku**—**mau**, **malu**, **matu**, **maku**). The treatment of the verb is extremely prolix. The usual "classical" tenses are exemplified in the three persons singular and plural (only the first class of nouns being used in the third person as usual), but the process is fully repeated for the verbs **bánca**, **cúna** and **túma** (i.e. for each of the three "conjugations" in which the 1st person singular concord changes, appearing as **nga-**, **nghi-** and **ngu-** respectively). Later "para melhor conhecimento dos verbos Abundos se accrescentão aqui alguns que servem de ilustraçao"; and pages 55-133 are taken up with a laborious repetition of

the complete process for a further 29 verbs, all of which could have been omitted, except for a few remarks in one or two cases. A supplement occupies pages 135-148. Pages 149-214 comprise a "Diccionario abbreviado da Lingua Congueza, a que accresce huma quarta column, que conte'm os termos da Lingua Bunda, identicos, ou semelhantes a' Lingua Congueza, colligido, e ordenado por Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim". This section, too, contains a preface to the Reader (pp. 151-158). The abbreviated Dictionary Portuguese-Latin-Congo—"Mbundu" contains about 1,000 Congo words of the "Sonho" dialect with Ndongo equivalents to less than a quarter of them. It is possible, as has been already observed, that this vocabulary was derived from Brusciotto's 1650 work (see Section IV). H. H. Johnston<sup>71</sup> records that, "In 1808 the Portuguese (*sic*) missionary, Cannecattim, published at Lisbon a dictionary in Latin, Portuguese, Kimbundu, and Kongo (the Kisolongo dialect)". Whether this is a distinct publication from the above addendum to Cannecattim's grammar, or a mistaken entry on Johnston's part, I have not yet been able to ascertain.

I think we must, on the whole, agree with Chatelain's 1894 appraisement<sup>72</sup> of Cannecattim's work. Of the dictionary he writes: "Owing to its incorrectness, confused spelling, and erroneous rendering of words, this large dictionary . . . has never been of any use to students of Kimbundu". And of the grammar: "This grammar is no better than the dictionary of the same author. Both works are far inferior to those of the seventeenth century."

## APPENDIX

### Brusciotto's Concord Tables

<sup>71</sup> A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, I, p. 802.

<sup>72</sup> Héli Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola, page 23.

Pro rudioribus Regulae generales Italice sermone ad maiorem dilucidationem, seu expressionem separatim diuisae.  
Regole per li Nomi singolari.

Regole	Lessempij	Articoli	Questo	Quello	esso	Ilqualc	esso me- desimo	Mio	Tuo	Suo	Nostro	Vostro	Loro	Buono	Con- ò &
Prima in E	elonga- etondo eiecalà	eria	rina	orio	eriu	riame	riacu	riandi	rietu	rienu	riau	riote	ye		
II. in Mu V O	mu- canga vzitu ongà	üa	oyu öü	ona vna	oyo oo	üau au	oyobe- ne oobene	ame	acu üacu	andi	etu	enu üenu	au üau	üuote aote	ya yo
III. in Qui	qui- uiu- ma	quia	equi	quia	quio	quiu	quiacu	qui- andi	quietu	quienu	quiau	quio	qua		
IV. in N	nzo	ya	ei	ena	oyo	yau	oyobe- ne	yame	yacu	andi	etu	enu	enu	Yamo- te	ya
V. in Cu	cu-	cua	ocu	cuna	oco	cuame	cuacu	cuandi	cuetu	cuenu	cuau	cuote	cuau	ya	yo
VI. in Ca	cati- anzi	ca	aca	cana	oco	cau	aco- bene	cacu	candi	quetu	quenu	cau	caote	ya	yo
VII. in Lu	luti- mu	lua	olu	luna	olo	luau	alobe- ne	luame	luandi	luetu	luenu	luau	luuote	ya	yo
VIII. in Tu	tibia	tua	otu	tuna	oto	tuau	atobe- ne	tuame	tuandi	tuetu	tuau	tuote	tuau	ya	yo

Sequuntur eodom prorsus ordine, sed variatis terminis pro altero numero correlatae Regulae, videlicet,  
Per il numero plurale.

## PROSPECTING GBAYA DIALECTS

WILLIAM J. SAMARIN\*

## SYNOPSIS

*Ideally, a linguistic classification should indicate relationships within a single linguistic unit (e.g. family). Hitherto no one has shown the inter-relationships of the idioms comprising the "Gbaya-Ngbaka Mandja Group". These might be determined by comparing word-lists, by studying mutually intelligibility, or by describing the distributions of certain linguistic features. But since we have to do with a continuously varying language, the Gbaya idioms might more profitably be investigated by statistical methods to determine their quantitative differences. Evidence is given to show how certain features are distributed among some of the Gbaya idioms. The principal example is that of the developments of *r* in a certain number of words. Although this study does not lead to any definitive groupings, it does disclose a few tantalizing clues.*

When one is attempting to arrive at a linguistic classification, there is no justification, outside of a lack of trained personnel, time or money, too often a real deterrent to linguistic progress, for simply listing the names of certain ethnocommunities. Although the names may help one to identify the general linguistic affiliation of the people of a certain area, they ignore the more important inter-relationships within a linguistic unit. Two recent publications of the International African Institute provide information about the Gbaya languages that in this respect is inadequate. The *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu-Borderland*,<sup>1</sup> for example, simply lists, and then only incompletely, the Gbaya "speeches" of Oubangui-Chari (in this article we use the term "idiom", following Werner Winter,<sup>2</sup> to refer to a speech type not yet classified as to dialect or language).

It is incumbent for a linguist to systematize all linguistic data, and part of this responsibility is to show the inter-relationships, if any, between linguistic systems. The relationships between languages and groups of languages, such as those within the Indo-European stock, has therefore been a study to which many linguists have devoted great effort. Less fascinating as a subject has been the study of the status of obviously related dialects of a single language. In Africa the

neglect seems to be due more to a dearth of interested and qualified people than anything else.

Dialect studies should no longer be ignored by scholars and institutions, private and governmental, who are interested in reconstructing Africa's ethnological and linguistic past. Whether the goal be to classify the languages of the whole African continent or to study the history of a certain people, like the Gbaya, the determination of the dialects of a large linguistic unit would undeniably shed much light, although more abundantly for the latter than for the former.

By "dialect studies" we do not mean the collection of word-lists but rather the determination of groups of idioms so as to show the relationships between them. Granted that such a study is to be undertaken for any significant language group, one must decide beforehand upon the most effective means of determining the dialects. Certain possibilities are discussed and evaluated in the following paragraphs, after which some general remarks are made about Gbaya dialectology. It is assumed that in general the observations, here made in the brief and tentative study of some Gbaya dialects, will be applicable to most parts of Africa.

INSPECTION, a brief or unsystematic study of word-lists, is inadequate, for it can only

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<sup>1</sup>Volume I, Oxford University Press for I.A.I., 1956. The second work is by A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan: *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, Handbook of African Languages, Part III, 1956.

<sup>2</sup>*International Journal of American Linguistics*, 23, 18, 1957. Another term, namely, "communalect", has been suggested (*IJAL*, 18, 1, 1952) to denote a given speech community without implying intelligibility (for dialects) or unintelligibility (for language).

reveal that certain idioms are related. An inspection, for example, of Hilberth's dictionary reveals that there are enough words that resemble those from the idiom of Bossangoa, that it is in fact a Gbaya dialect.<sup>3</sup> It is this type of inspection that long ago revealed the existence of a Gbaya-Mgbaka-Manza unit. Unrefined, however, this method will not demonstrate what relationship, for example, the Gbaya of Berberati, of Bossangoa (**Gbeya**) and of Ft. Crampel (**Manza**) have to each other.

MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY has often been used to show degrees of relationship. It is assumed that because the people of areas A and B understand each other, but not those of C, the dialects of A and B are more closely related to each other than they are to C. As a matter of fact, the situation may be much more complicated than it at first seems. For example, there may be some people of A who, because they live near the people of C, have learned their idiom. One may also find that geographically contiguous communities understand each other, and that intelligibility decreases with greater distance. (Other possibilities are discussed by Hockett and Greenberg).<sup>4</sup> It is not enough to ask individuals if they understand the people of such-and-such a place. For any number of reasons the answers may be misleading or even erroneous. Moreover, in order to determine dialects one must know to what degree certain idioms are mutually intelligible. The statement in the *LSNBB* that "several informants have asserted that throughout the area inter-intelligibility exists to a greater or less degree" (p. 56) is, therefore of very little help and, for some idioms, even incorrect.

#### DISTRIBUTIONS OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES.

One of the earliest methods of studying

dialects was to describe the distribution of certain linguistic features, lexical or grammatical. Of such a type was the famous work of Jules Gilliéron for France. Linguistically untrained people unknowingly engage in such study when, for example, they distinguish between Gbaya dialects that use **són** (e.g. Bossangoa) and those that use **fét** (e.g. Bozoum) "all". The indigenous African population employs the same method but uses different criteria. The people of Bossangoa, for example, characterize the speech of a certain area by the fact that the people say **hɛ**, **mgbə́d** "Say, friend!" The Gbaya on the road from the Waam to Bozoum they call Mbay, because they say **wo'ó** instead of **wa** "they".

In such studies lines, called isoglosses, are drawn on maps to show the farthest extent of the use of a certain linguistic form or feature. Thus, if one were to indicate the extent of **són** and **fét**, ignoring the area where they might coexist, one could speak of a **són** dialect and a **fét** dialect. More instructive, of course, is the use of bundles of isoglosses, that is, the extents of a number of linguistic forms. For example, an isogloss could be drawn between Bowey and Bossangoa because the people of the former village say **béé** whereas the latter say **wíré** "person". But since there are more isoglosses between Bozoum, where people say **ḍáká** "different", **kpókódi** "one", and **suy** "eat", and Bowey-Bossangoa, where people say **zán**, **kpém** and **yɔŋ** respectively, than between Bowey-Bozoum and Bossangoa, the former are distinguished as dialects.

Such methods, however, have not proven altogether satisfactory. Some linguists even consider them "virtually passé".<sup>5</sup> Where they fail especially is in the study of a continuously varying language, i.e. one where

<sup>3</sup>See William J. Samarin, "The Gbaya Languages", *Africa*, 38, 148-155, 1958, for bibliography of works on Gbaya.

<sup>4</sup>Charles F. Hockett, *A Manual of Phonology*, Memoir 11 of *IJAL* (Part I, Vol. 21, 1955); Joseph H. Greenberg, "The Measurement of Linguistic Diversity", *Language*, 32, 109-115, 1956.

<sup>5</sup>Uriel Weinreich, "Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?" *Word*, 10, 388-400, 1954. Page 397 cited. On the other hand, another eminent American dialectologist in correspondence with us says that if the isogloss method is taken with certain reservations, it is "not so inadequate as is often supposed". He writes: "Typically the isogloss for related terms like 'rock' and 'stone' overlap, leaving a small or large transition area. It is also typical of the transition area that 'recessive' forms (those that are dying out in the language) are most frequent and solid in their distribution, while 'dominant' forms are less frequent and usually scattered. The reason for this apparently paradoxical situation is that the recessive form tends to retreat slowly along a solid front, whereas the dominant form spreads rapidly, often skipping far ahead of any solid line of advance".

the speech of neighbouring villages is practically indistinguishable, but where the speech of distant villages is different. This situation obtains for Gbaya as well as for many other African languages. In this case, qualitative differences are not so marked at certain points and with respect to certain linguistic features. If one were to take all the Gbaya dialects of, say, the District of Bossangoa, one would find that certain dialects could be distinguished because a certain feature occurred more often than (not exclusive of) another, e.g. that [z] was used in certain environments more often than [z̩], or that **bələ** was used more often than **bənə** "back", or that **éré** was used more often than **é** "we". It has been suggested that transition areas, where linguistic traits are quantitatively distributed, be studied by statistical methods. David W. Reed and John L. Spicer have shown the value of this statistical correlation method in the study of American (English) dialects.<sup>6</sup> The procedure, in brief, is the following: "Inquiries are made at various points concerning the presence or absence of a whole list of test features; then the correlation between the results at some reference point and at all other points is computed, and may be represented cartographically, points with similar correlation coefficients being surrounded by lines which have variously been called 'isopleths' or 'isogrades'."<sup>7</sup>

Following this trend to quantitative analysis is Greenberg's contribution in 1956. He provides various formulae for the testing of linguistic diversity in such linguistic situations as when two speakers are assumed to speak the same language, i.e. monolingual areas, and even with polylingualism.

Amenable to quantitative measurement, with difficulties admitted by the proponents, is mutual intelligibility, a plan for which was

described by Voegelin and Harris in 1951 and later employed by various individuals in the study of American Indian languages.<sup>8</sup> "Briefly the technique involves asking an informant to respond in the investigator's language to a tape recording of a text in a language different from but related to the informant's own language. The response is scored against a master translation, and the result expressed as an index of the degree of intelligibility."<sup>9</sup>

It seems to us that the Gbaya dialects can best be determined by such measuring of quantitative differences. So many features are shared by contiguous and even removed idioms—but in various degrees—that differences can be demonstrated most efficiently only statistically. The following brief discussion of Gbaya /r, l, y/ will serve to show the relevance of this method to the study of Gbaya dialects whereas the interested reader is referred to the authors already mentioned for a demonstration of its actual use.

The analysis of the phonology of the **Gbeya** dialect found thirty kilometres west of Bossangoa on the road to Bozoum revealed the existence of pairs of allologs or, as Welmers calls them, "free morpheme alternants",<sup>10</sup> one of which ended in /y/ and the other in /r/ in the nouns, and VV~Vr- (allomorphs) alternating with Vy in the verbs. Thus: **kégy**~**kéri** "charcoal", **kpa** (**kpar**)~**kpay** "to cross (e.g. hands)". Since a scientist must describe all systematic features of a language, we felt that it was incumbent on us to discuss them and to state the predominance, if any, of one over the other.

The picture is complicated by the fact, however, that certain of these alternant forms characterize the speech of certain areas. Moreover, when grouped into a single class, these words are more characteristic of one

<sup>6</sup>"Correlation Methods in Comparing Idiodes in a Transition Area", *Language*, 28. 348-359, 1952.

<sup>7</sup>Weinreich, p. 398.

<sup>8</sup>C. F. Voegelin and Zellig Harris, "Methods of Determining Intelligibility among Dialects of Natural Languages", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 95. 322-329, 1950. H. Hickerson, G. Turner, N. Hickerson, "Testing Procedures for Estimating Transfer of Information among Iroquois Dialects and Languages", *IJAL*, 18. 1-8, 1952.

<sup>9</sup>Bruce Biggs, "Testing Intelligibility among Yuman Languages", *IJAL*, 23. 57-62, 1957. Page 57 cited.

<sup>10</sup>William E. Welmers, *A Descriptive Grammar of Fanti*, Language dissertation No. 39, Supplement to *Language*, 22, 1946. Page 30 cited.

area than another. For example, **k̄ri** is characteristic of Bowey (on the road that branches off at the Waam, going north), whereas **k̄gy** is characteristic of **Gba-z̄ya** (34 kilometres west of Bossangoa). And whereas there are many verbs with final /y/ at **Gba-z̄ya** (e.g. **day** "raise animals", **m̄y** "gather", etc.) as well as Bowey (e.g. **lay** "lick"), there are differences in the number of such words in each area. If one took a list of verbs, it would be seen that Bowey more often used final /y/ (e.g. **lay**) or /ri/ (e.g. **beri** "burn", **dari** "raise") and **Gba-z̄ya** more often **VV** (e.g. **laa**, **bee**, and **day** respectively).

What soon became apparent was that unless we wanted to simply describe the language of a single individual, that is to say, a Gbaya idiolect, we had to define the dialect we were studying. But to define the dialect, we had to compare this one with many others, here in the Bossangoa District and elsewhere in Oubangui-Chari. This study revealed that the /r-y/ alternation was not restricted to the Bossangoa District, but that to a greater or lesser degree was found in many other Gbaya dialects.

We had data for a number of idioms, but for some idioms that we especially wanted to study only very limited data. The basis of comparison was a list of 100 words we compiled in 1952, six months after we had first arrived in Oubangui-Chari and before we were at all acquainted with Gbaya. For other idioms we had dictionaries or portions from the New Testament.

The idioms compared were the following: **Mbay** (of Bowayu, between Baoro and Bozoum), the **Manza** of Bouca and Ft. Crampel, **Bofi**, **Ari** of Buruse, **Mgbaka-Manza** of Damara, **Gbanu** of Bossembele, and the **Gbaya** of Bossentele (at the cross-roads of Baoro-Bozoum-Bossembele), Bozoum and Bossangoa. These shall henceforth be referred to as **Mbay**, **Bouca**, **Crampel**, **Bofi**, **Buruse**, **Damara**, **Gbanu**, **Bossentele**, **Bozoum** and **Bossangoa**.<sup>11</sup>

Since we could not hope immediately to get more data, we were compelled to restrict

the comparison to the words that were available, that is to say, to words that were obtained in the 1952 survey. Of these, unfortunately, only thirty were suitable for the study, all nouns. Moreover, in 1952 we did not consistently distinguish between [l], [t̄] and [J], the latter of which is a voiced lateral flap. (In at least some of the Gbaya dialects /l/ and /J/, or perhaps /t̄/, are separate phonemes.)

The data revealed that the words which in some dialects have initial or intervocalic /r/ in other dialects undergo certain changes. (For the purpose of this discussion we assume that /r/ is basic.) These are the following:

- (a) It is substituted by /l/ or /y/. When it is intervocalic, and all the words are basically bimorphemic, the final vowel is either retained or lost.
- (b) It is retained, but the final vowel is lost,
- (c) It is lost intervocally, at least in one set of allomorphs, which in many dialects have a long vowel.
- (d) It is substituted by /w/.

These possibilities are summarized by the following formulae:

- \***kara**, \***kala**, \***kaya**, \***kar** or \***kaar**, \***kal**, \***kay**, \***kaa** or \***ka**, and \***kawa**.

Because of the unreliability of the 1952 list in regard to the liquids, the /l-r/ alternation is considered as evidence for /r/ even though there is a phonemic contrast in Gbaya-Bozoum and other dialects. This alternation occurs on a phonemic level in **Gbeya**, in some words dialectically and others idiolectally. (The occurrence and distribution of /l/ in the Gbaya dialects would itself be an interesting subject for statistical studies.) Looking at the Gbaya dialects as a whole, one can characterize some dialects as /r/-dialects and others, e.g. Berberati, as /l/-dialects, where it is not uncommon to have, for example, word-final /l/ where other dialects have /rV/ or final /r/. Even in this dialect, however, there seems to be a contrast between /l/ and /r/, whatever the phonetic nature of the latter may be.

Moreover, although it is a significant

<sup>11</sup>Other idioms for which we had more or less data were those of Berberati, Bertoua and Meiganga, the last two being in the Cameroun.

observation that in many dialects there seems to be a tendency to lengthen vowels before /r/, sometimes medial and sometimes final, and that this development produced in some dialects forms like **séé** from **sére** "spear", we ignore it because we are not confident that we consistently recorded such length in 1952. It is likewise possible that other writers have ignored vowel length. In other words, forms like **\*kar** and **\*kaar** are taken to characterize a dialect where /r/ is retained but the final vowel is lost, and **\*kaa** and **\*ka** are taken to characterize a dialect where the final syllable is lost.

Other features ignored in this study are the presence or absence of nasalization of vowels, differences in tone and vowel quality. Thus, a form like **\*kélé** or **kérgé** are included in the dialect that has **\*kara**.

The chief failing of this study, of course, is the fact that it is based on so ridiculously few data. Nonetheless, the conclusions arrived at justify the effort expended.

We find that there is no general, well-patterned way in which **\*[r]**-words change from dialect to dialect. In the first place, some words (13 of the 30, henceforth referred to as Group A) suffer no change at all, i.e. **ndará** "hide", **zoro** (**kayó**)<sup>12</sup> "fish", **fóro** "elephant", **yére** (**ndará**) "buffalo", **kóro** "rain", **béra** "gourd", **zéra** "ear", **bere** "breast", **góró** "bee", **sárá** "star", **dila** (**gbégbé**) "lion", **mboró** "red monkey", **tore** "scorpion".

In the second place, only some words (7, Group B) alternate between /r/ and /y/, i.e. **tóró** "dog", **zéra** "rat", **túrú** "(bark) cloth", **dore** "termite", **boro** "iron", **gíro** "shade (of tree, etc.)", and **rító** "two".

In the third place, only ten words (Group C) are subject to loss of final vowel or whole last syllable, i.e. **taa** "three", **náá** "four", **péé** (**yák**) "rope", **wáá** "path", **máá** "rainy season", **kpirí** (**kpenemé**) "axe", **séé** "spear", **ngéré** "shield", **béré** "dry season", and **éré** "we".

Using the last two groups of words, we can set up "typical" dialects which are characterized by certain phonological developments.

Thus, the Mbay dialect is a /y/-dialect because it uses /y/ in all the words of Group B, whereas Bossangoa is an /r/-dialect. And by using the words "three", "four", "rope", "path" and "rainy season" of Group C, one would consider the Crampel dialect a **\*kara** dialect, Bofi a **\*kar** dialect, and Bossangoa a **\*kaa** dialect.

Two dialects are neatly defined on the basis of the words in Group B: Bouca, Crampel, Mbay and Meiganga use /y/ whereas all the others use /r/. But when it comes to Group B there is a different alignment. Bouca, Crampel, Buruse, Damara and Gbanu use **\*kara**, Meiganga, Mbay, Bertoua, Bofi, and Berberati use **\*kar**, and Bozoum and Bossangoa use **\*kaa**. Bossentele lies between these two. Group C reveals an alignment similar to that of B: Meiganga, Mbay and Crampel tend to **\*kaa** whereas all the others tend to **\*kara**.

What must be pointed out, however, is that these dialects are not completely free from some of the other developments (witness Bossentele). In the District of Bossangoa, which lies between, but not contiguous with, the /y/-dialects of Meiganga and Bouca, there are many cases of words with /y/—word initially, medially and finally. Whereas Hilberth's dictionaries for Berberati list such allologs as **boró** and **boyo**, it is most likely that he has mixed dialects. But there is only one form for "spear", i.e. **se**, like that of Meiganga, Mbay and Crampel. Whereas Buruse and Damara are definitely **\*kara** dialects, they both have some unexpected forms. Calloc'h gives, for example, **seé** as an alternant for **séle** "spear" and **pé** (not **\*pere**) for "aroma, odor". For the latter Damara has neither **\*pere** nor **\*pe** but **per**.

One other phonological development was mentioned above, and it occurs only once in these words, i.e. Crampel **dowe** for **dore** "termite". But it is not uncommon in Bossangoa, where it alternates with the more common **\*kaa**, e.g. **báwó** "paternal aunt", **zawo** "weeds".

As might be expected, the speech of

<sup>12</sup>The forms in parentheses are innovations. Most of the other forms are from the Bossangoa idiom.

contiguous areas resemble each other more than they do more-removed dialects. The outstanding exception is that of Mbay which is more like Bouca in using /y/ than it is like the nearby Bozoum dialect. The few data we have on Bouca and Mbay as compared with Berberati do not confirm a closer relationship between Bouca and Mbay than Mbay and Berberati. In fact, in at least two instances Bouca and Berberati are paired off against Mbay: the former have **pon** (Bouca) and **pok** (Berberati) "one", **nzáa** and **nzan** "universe, outside", whereas Mbay has **kpókódi** and **záan** (with the significant loss of nasal before /z/ respectively).

These observations on Gbaya /l, y, r/ lead us to the conclusion that the best delimitation of Gbaya dialects will be one that has been arrived at after a proper evaluation of such variations illustrated in the foregoing paragraphs. One might argue with some justification that the phonemes in question may be "unstable" and that, therefore, these wide-spread alternations are marginal to the "real" dialect differences. We have enough other data, however, to feel certain that this phonological phenomenon is only symptomatic of Gbaya dialectology. We could here add to what has already been said that although /m/ (with glottal onset) and /b/ are not mutually exclusive in a number of idioms, some use /b/ more often than /m/. Likewise, some /z/-dialects still have a few words with /nz/.

The present distribution of the Gbaya dialects will find some explanation in the geography and demography of the area. The Waam River, for example, has played some part in the distribution of the **Gbeaya**-speaking people of the Ouham Region. One finds at Batangafo, down-river from Bossangoa, an idiom that reminds one more of **Bossangoa-Gbeaya** than it does of Manza, who the people claim they are. On the other hand, the nearer Gba Bana dialect, found

between the Waam and Bouca, although supposedly **Gbeaya**, reminds one more of Bouca than the **Gbeaya** of Bossangoa.

The present distribution of the Mbum-speaking peoples, thrust as they are between the Gbaya of the west and east, justifies the hypothesis that at one time this whole area was exclusively Gbaya. The similarities between Meiganga and Mbay on the one hand, with Bouca on the other is, we believe, corroborating evidence.

We suggest that an accurate delineation of Gbaya dialects can not be based on a study of the speeches of the large towns, which, although they are more accessible, are too few and far-removed from each other. Very valuable data are buried away in many villages off the "beaten track". In such places one often finds idioms that one does not expect. For example, the speech of **Zaworo-yaya**, near the Lobay River, about sixty kilometres west of Yaloke on the Carnot road, showed some startling resemblances to Bossangoa instead of the expected Gbanu.

We might add, in conclusion, that we find evidence for modern linguistic diffusions that are tending to obscure the old dialect areas. One example is that of the above-mentioned case **Zaworo-yaya**. The informant from that village used many Gbanu forms without apparently realizing it. We found this also true in our study of the dialects of the District of Bossangoa. There, the Suma of Bogira, for example, have taken to using the Bossangoa form **bú** instead of their own **romi** "ten". There is no doubt that the speech of the large post-towns have a great influence on the others in the immediate area. Other factors that are causing the development of new dialects are the modern relocation of the inhabitants along automobile roads and the increased traffic (by foot, bicycle, or bus) between once far-removed and isolated places.

## NOTES ON DR SIMS'S YALULEMA VOCABULARY†

J. F. CARRINGTON\*

### SYNOPSIS

The language named "Yalulema" by Dr A. Sims is shown to be that now called Lokele, the name "Yalolema" being given to Lokele fishermen who drift down-river beyond the boundaries of the main Lokele tribe for periodic fishing journeys.

A comparison of the vocabulary recorded by Dr Sims with present-day usage is of interest in showing the types of mistakes made by a recorder without any knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language noted, as well as giving some indication of vocabulary change with the passage of time.

Dr A. Sims, M.B., C.M.(Aber.), was the director and pioneer missionary of the Livingstone Inland Mission which disputed with the Baptist Missionary Society the honour of being the first Christian mission to work in the territory that later became known as the Congo Free State. H. M. Stanley mentions him when speaking of this friendly rivalry in the following terms:

"It has been a well-contested race to the great goal; the Baptists were the first to win the race to Stanley Pool; Dr Sims was the first to navigate any portion of the upper river. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

In 1884, however, the Livingstone Inland Mission was dissolved and its work taken over in part by the American Baptist Missionary Society, which explains why this small vocabulary was published in Boston as well as in London.

The work gives the "Yalulema" equivalents of some 1,140 English words arranged alphabetically, preceded by a preface of two pages and a conspectus of the "concord of the Yalulema noun". There is a small map of the Congo Free State with the position of the Yalulema-speaking groups marked in red, just over the confluence of the Aruwimi and the Congo River.

Stanley mentions "Yalulima" groups as occupying a site on the south bank of the Congo below Mombongo and above the

Itimbiri mouth.<sup>2</sup> He also describes a site abandoned by the Yalulima on the north bank opposite this position. His map bears the name "Old Yalulima" at this north bank point. Sims, however, in his preface, describes an area considerably east of Stanley's Yalulima site, and names the village of his chief informant as Mawembe, "the first town on the right bank after leaving the Aruwimi in ascending to Stanley Falls". Stanley equates his earlier "Mahouembe" with Yomburi, which is his rendering of the village-name found today at this site and known as Yaombole. It lies 23 km. to the west of the Lomami mouth.

Yaombole is the furthermost village down-river of the Lokele tribe (section Yawembe) so that what Sims has described in his vocabulary is essentially a recording of the Lokele language as spoken by the Yawembe section of that tribe. My interest in the book was aroused because in 1950 my wife and I were transferred from our work at Yakusu (near Stanleyville) to Yalemba, some thirty kilometres above the mouth of the Aruwimi. So far as I knew there was no tribal group of any importance bearing the name "Yalulema" in this region, yet our new home lay at the spot marked with a red cross on Dr Sims's map.

The difficulty over the name for this language was cleared up soon after we settled

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†Full title, *A short vocabulary of the YALULEMA LANGUAGE as spoken in the Bosoko (Aruwimi), Mawembe and Lolami (Lomami) districts in the Upper Congo*, published by the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, London, and the American Baptist Missionary Union, Boston, U.S.A., 1887, v+35 pages.

Stanley, H. M., *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, London, 1885, p. 496.  
Idem, pp. 134-166.

in at Yalembo. A group of Lokele fishermen living near Yalembo were loath to accept the suggestion of their neighbours that their former missionaries had indeed left Lokele country to come to live among strangers down-river. They said in our hearing: **Bakoyali batə batə ba Lokele; ngoko basəəke Yalolema** (They are still Lokele people; but they have gone "Yalolema"). And they explained to us that many of the Lokele fisher-folk, especially those in the Yawembe area, spend months and even years drifting down-river, fishing as they go, to distances as far away as Bumba at the mouth of the Itimbiri and even beyond. These wandering fisher groups are known as **eba Yalolema** (the wanderers). What Stanley and Sims refer to as Yalulema or Yalulima groups are clearly to be regarded as Lokele fishing parties making temporary encampments at down-river sites but acknowledging as their real home, villages in the Yawembe area from Yaombole upwards.

I have been unable to discover the name of Sims's informant from Yaombole, but there are references to him in available historical sources. Sims himself describes the young man as one of some forty slaves liberated by Stanley on his return journey from Stanley Falls in 1883 and later distributed by him among government stations. Sims was able to liberate another slave from this same area himself and so "completed the following vocabulary at Stanley Falls, Christmas, 1884". There were young people at Stanley Pool from the region behind that marked as Yalulema on his map, and these gave the author words which he distinguished in his vocabulary by adding "int."

In a letter written by the missionary-linguist W. H. Bentley to the secretary of the B.M.S. in 1886, the compilation of the Yalulema vocabulary is mentioned:

"Aku, the little maid who came to England as nurse to Mr Grenfell's little daughter Pattie, is living with us and although so closely occupied with the

work of the Congo dictionary, we have been able to take down at meal-times and other odd moments some three or four hundred words of her language. . . . Dr Sims of the American Mission when at Stanley Pool had a lad from the neighbourhood of the Aluhimi towns on the north bank some thirty miles west of Aku's town. He has collected a vocabulary of some 1,300 words of the Yamboli language from this boy and several hundred words of a dialect spoken by some inland folk in the neighbourhood. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Stanley himself does not mention his ransom of the slaves, though he says that at the camp of Yakondé (cf. the Lokele village opposite Yangambi named Yangonde) he persuaded the Arabs who travelled with him from Stanley Falls to send ten confidential slaves to the coast so as to impress on them the power of the white agents of the Congo Free State.

One of the ransomed group was Lisasi, Grenfell's helper and the founder under Grenfell's direction of the mission station at Yalembo. In a manuscript statement by Lisasi of his early experiences he says:

"He (Stanley) went to Kisangani (i.e. Stanleyville) to leave white men there to make a village. When he left there he returned down-river. He found us at the village of Yangonde. Then he asked Tipotipo about us little ones, to buy us with cloth. So he agreed to sell us to him. He called us and we came before him. Then Mr Stanley took cloth to give to him. Then he gave us to him. Some of us he bought with one doti of cloth (about four yards); those who were bigger for two dotis. Thus we were about twenty and three girls. (Note: one of the girls named Eku or Aku of Ilondo is living now at the B.M.S. station at San Salvador)."<sup>4</sup>

Dr Sims's informant was probably one of these young slaves redeemed at Yangonde by Stanley along with Lisasi.

<sup>3</sup>Bentley, W. H., *Missionary Herald of the Baptist Missionary Society*, London, 1886.

<sup>4</sup>Lisasi—a manuscript in English at Yalembo. The wording of this type-script record of four quarto pages suggests that it is a translation from a Bantu language (probably So) made by one of the BMS missionaries at Yalembo. The notes in brackets are probably his own additions to Lisasi's original deposition.

A comparison of Sims's word-list with present-day Lokele is of interest

- (a) as an indication of vocabulary change,
- (b) as an illustration of the types of mistakes which can be made during such an investigation by workers who are unfamiliar with the language examined,
- (c) as an assessment of the value for comparative work of vocabularies of this kind.

In the conspectus of the Lokele noun, Sims distinguishes 8 classes with singular and plural prefixes in each class:

1. e- bi-	4. bo- ma-	7. i- to-
2. mo- ba-	5. li- ma-	8. mu-
3. n- n-	6. lo- n-	mi-

For each noun he gives the possessive adjective for all six persons and also the forms for "good", "bad", "all" and "how many?" Apart from some wrong phonetic values (*andi* for *ande*, *yano* for *yanu*, *yangatu* for *yaanga to*. . .) this table gives an accurate picture of present-day usage in the Yawembe area where **m-** replaces **b-** in noun prefixes as compared with the usage of the central Lokele area.

For the most part the investigator is content to give a single equivalent to each English word (86% of the first hundred words); in 12% of cases he gives two forms and in 2% more than two forms. For 28 of the first 100 words he adds a form given by lads at Stanley Pool who, he says, "came from the interior behind the Yalulema and spoke a closely allied dialect". Thus:

- Baby, n., mwana; wana (Int.).
- Back, n., mokongo; bohongo (Int.).
- of head, n., likoti; dikoti (Int.).
- Bag (scrip), n., boüku; boühu (Int.).
- Line (cord), n., ikulu (to-); moliki; bolihu (Int.).

The frequent presence of *h* instead of *k* in these "interior" words recalls the characteristic Yaokanja dialect of present-day Lokele where *k* becomes a glottal stop:

- bə'əngə (back)
- bou'u (bag)
- boli'i (string)

The area where this is spoken, however, is around the village of Yangonde (the site of

Stanley's purchase of the slaves) rather than in the region behind Yaombole.

One or more of the "interior" informants had a tendency to nasalize the endings of his words. This, so far as I know, is a purely individual trait and not characteristic of any present-day Lokele group:

- gun, n., mokaki, bohaiñ (Int.)
- leopard, n., ngoi, ngoiñ (Int.)

### Vocabulary Change

It is clear that Arabic influence on spoken Lokele is still non-existent at the time of recording this vocabulary:

English	Sims's form	Present- day Lokele	cf. Swahili
box	poloke, epoki	<b>sanduku</b>	sanduku
chain	dilunda, imehuñ	<b>bənyələlə</b>	mnyororo
sword	bokwehi	<b>bopanga</b>	upanga
gun-	mosa	<b>baluti</b>	baruti
powder	(lit. ash)		
window	mome	<b>lililisa</b> (lit. door)	dirisha

It is remarkable how great an influence Swahili has had on the vocabulary of present-day Lokele when we consider the short space of time that elapsed between the arrival of the Arabs in this area of Congo and the assumption of government by the Congo Free State.

### Types of mistaken recordings

- (a) Wrong phonetic transcriptions: Sims used a five-vowel system which is inadequate to describe the seven-vowel Lokele language. There are also frequent replacements of *l* by **d** (dina, name, for *lina*); *o* by **u** (*mbuka*, road, for **mboka**); and *e* by **i** (*okalima*, to lie on the back, for **okalema**). Many such mistakes have been perpetuated in place-names of present-day Upper Congo sites and streams.
- (b) Lack of tonetic description: One hardly expects to find tonetic notation in a work of this early period. But an occasional use by Sims of the diacresis mark (as in *boüku*, *bag*) may be an

attempt by him to indicate a high tone. This method of notation was used a few years later by Whitehead in his careful study of the tonal system of Bobangi.<sup>5</sup>

(c) A more extensive form is given for a less extensive equivalent:

hand	bosamba	—actually: the whole arm
large belly	lisango	—actually: repletion
bitterness	lisoho	—actually: medicine of any kind

(d) A less extensive form is given for a more extensive equivalent:

clay	etutu	—actually: a wall
spear	mosongo	—actually: spear-shaft only
fence	lokandu	—actually: a fence used in fishing
sores	mafifi	—actually: tertiary yaws only

(e) Mistaken identity of objects shown to the informants:

board	etutu	—actually: wall of a house
lungs	maluku	—actually: liver
rainbow	kaki	—actually: lightning
sandbox	ifimbilimi	—actually: small burrowing insects
ants	kuso	—actually: fly maggots
borassus	litoko	—actually: Elaeis palm
palm		
sun	litele	—actually: sunset
smack lips	tauna	—actually: to chew
meat	swi	—actually: fish flesh

Ought the form given for "God" to be included in this category? Sims's informant recorded: moto nda use, literally "man in the sky"!

(f) Abbreviated forms:

gladness	woka	—The root <b>-oka</b> means "(to) feel". Sims's informant probably gave <b>-oka limengø</b> (feel gladness).
empty	yekumo	—They probably said <b>Eti la yeka omo</b> (There is nothing there)

(g) Verbal forms, probably not recognised as such by the recorder, are given for other grammatical categories:

alive	kasingi	—Probably: <b>Eka-singi</b> (It has not yet died)
clever	tokokuwa	—Literally: We are working still.
forget	tiluwe limo	—Probably: <b>Iti-luwe imo</b> (I do not know any more)
green	katedi	Probably: <b>Eka-teli</b> (It has not yet ripened)
thin	atil 'nyama	—Probably: <b>Ati la nyama</b> (He has no flesh)

The form given for "self" should be included here, namely ndakede. Present-day equivalents are:

**Imi nd'akeli** (I did it myself)

**Ae nd'akeli** (You did it yourself)

**Inde nd'akeli** (He did it himself)

Sims probably heard **nd'akeli** as the equivalent of "self" when it is, in fact, a verbal form from the root **-kel-**, (to) do.

(h) A confession of inability to answer: The recorder gets a comment from the informant on his ability or otherwise to answer the question posed instead of giving an equivalent:

page 8: cushion **itilungelo**

page 23: pillow **itilungelo**

This could be **eingaelo** (a place to sleep), the actual form for "pillow" in present-day Lokele being **liongaoto** (literally: a

board for the head). But it is more easily explained as *Itilonge elo* . . . (I have not managed this one, i.e. I cannot answer this question).

One of the main reasons for early missionary linguistic work was the assessment of the area covered by various languages met with in the Congo so that a language of wide dispersion might be chosen as a medium for teaching and preaching work. The tragedy of choosing for such a purpose a language which proved later on to have only a limited use, or to be the tongue of a tribe whose

numbers were rapidly becoming smaller, has been experienced on several of our Congo mission stations. Dr Sims's work had real value in this direction and probably achieved all that the author set himself out to do.

On the other hand, the mistakes are sufficiently numerous to suggest that vocabularies of this sort can hardly serve for serious comparative linguistic work. Probably to record the lexical material of a given language demands of the investigator a good knowledge of its grammatical structure as well as an adequate training in phonetic method.

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## BOOK REVIEW

**Trade Routes of Algeria and the Sahara.** BENJAMIN E. THOMAS. University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 8. University of California Press. 1957. pp. 165-285, maps. \$2.50.

This is a useful and thoroughly documented study in a well-known series of geographical publications. The purpose of the work is to examine the development of trade routes in Algeria and in the western Sahara and their interrelations with physical features and with the changing economic and political geography of these areas. Emphasis is placed upon the more recent phases of the subject, especially on the effects of World War II on transportation.

The author starts with an introductory discussion on the geographical factors in trade and transportation generally. This is followed by two major regional studies, the first on northern Algeria and the second on the Sahara. This is necessary since there is so great a contrast in trade, population and production between the two regions that the

same means of transportation can hardly be applied to both, e.g., a traffic flow of only one vehicle per day over a road in northern Algeria would indicate an insignificant rural route, but in the southern Sahara it would indicate a surprisingly well-travelled "main highway".

The contrast is so strong that it is difficult to make comparisons between the two regions, and each has had its own distinctive historical geography. Thus, while railway development has meant much to the economic growth of Algeria, the author states that the completion of a trans-Saharan railway is unlikely in the near future because of the great cost, the estimated light traffic and the disturbed political conditions in Algeria.

Since trade and transportation are the foundations of economic growth, this study in many ways may be regarded as a general economic geographical review of the regions discussed and as such indicates very clearly the very important part that communications must play in the development of these under-developed territories.

T.J.D.F.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### FIRST INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN SEMINAR

The first of the series of seminars which are being organized by the International African Institute with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation, was held at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, from 3 to 12 January, 1959, under the chairmanship of Professor Aidan Southall, Director of the East African Institute of Social Research. It was attended by eighteen participants and three observers, fifteen from various territories in tropical Africa, three from Europe, and three from the United States.

The subject of this seminar was 'Kinship, status and neighbourhood under modern economic conditions in tropical Africa'. The discussions were mainly focused on the emergence of new social relations in African towns. They included a review of the various factors affecting migration, resettlement and the differentiation of occupations, incomes and modes of living. Particular attention was given to the changing character of the domestic family and kinship relations in new occupational and neighbourhood settings, and to the interaction of traditional ties with new patterns of prestige and forms of association. Papers prepared in advance by the participants were reviewed in sessions devoted to particular aspects and problems, such as kinship relations, authority in the family, marriage stability, the position of women, status and prestige symbols. Other sessions were devoted to more general problems. A report summarizing the papers presented to the seminar and the scope of its discussions is being prepared for early publication.

Arrangements are being made to hold the second seminar at Lovanium University, Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, under the chairmanship of Professor Daniel Biebuyck. It will be concerned with the study of the indigenous agrarian systems and their modern development.

### OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF AFRICAN MUSICAL

The jazz opera, "King Kong", based on the tragic life of the Zulu heavyweight boxer, Ezekiel Dlamini, has been playing to packed

houses in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand, and has excellent prospects of long runs elsewhere in Southern Africa and overseas.

The music for "King Kong" was composed by Todd Matshikiza; and, in Leon Gluckman's production, Nathan Mdledle and Miriam Makeba are in the leading roles. With Africans as composer, cast and musicians, and whites as producer, book and lyric writers, set designer and musical director, "King Kong" is the fruit of effective inter-racial co-operation. Not only does it bring together a galaxy of talent in and behind the scenes, but it also portrays urban African life, that mixture of humour, vitality, violence, pathos and tragedy, with an unerring authenticity, and imparts in a few hours what would take months of popular reading and scientific study. Especially notable is the unaffected ease with which the Greek chorus of washerwomen interpret to the largely northern-suburb audience the complex and colourful life of the south-western townships.

### NEWS FROM RESEARCH INSTITUTES

In his Fourth Annual Report, Mr E. T. Sherwood, Senior Research Fellow and Secretary of the *Institute of Social and Economic Research, at Rhodes University, Grahamstown*, draws attention to the publications now appearing as a result of the first four years of the work of the Institute. Three of the six volumes of the Border Regional Survey (those dealing with economic development, African life in East London, and the process of urbanization) will go to press as soon as publication grants have been secured; and a land use map, in twelve colours and on a scale of 1:125,000, is already being printed. Also in the press is Miss Margaret Roberts's report on farm labour (published by the South African Institute of Race Relations). Some six further manuscripts arising from Institute research are now in various stages of preparation and are expected to be complete in the next eighteen months.

Apart from the completion of the comprehensive Border Regional Survey, the Institute's present research programme includes: a study of African education (with special reference to sociological background and employment opportunities; African systems of morality; Bantu Christianity in the Eastern Cape and Transkei; an industrial survey of the Port Elizabeth region; a small community survey; and two housing studies.

Dr G. E. J. B. Brausch, Director of the *Institute of Social Studies* in Elisabethville, has recently written a report on the activities in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi of *L'Institut de Sociologie Solvay* of which his Institute forms a part.

*L'Institut de Sociologie Solvay* has long been known in Belgium for its activities in the spheres of applied sociology and the "sociology of labour". In 1955, in response to an appeal from the Belgian Government, who were concerned to keep Belgian developments abreast of progress elsewhere in the fields of basic education and community development, *L'Institut* established itself in the Congo with the object of undertaking social research and engaging in social welfare and development, where necessary creating bodies necessary for these objectives. During the following four years it established six social centres in various parts of the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi as well as the Institute of Social Studies, a training school, in Elisabethville. Its Research Centre dates from 1956.

Believing that social development plans must depend on a sound knowledge of the social structure, *L'Institut* has carried out a series of basic surveys, such as that of the Ruashi community of Elisabethville, undertaken in July 1956 by Mesdames Lebeuf and Pouleur, which, *inter alia*, led to the development of a sociological inventory which will be used in an enquiry into the social morphology of other African communities in Elisabethville. For these surveys, *L'Institut* has found its social centres useful points of entry, and has developed fruitful collaboration between its research and welfare staff. It has been able to sponsor a series of studies

by distinguished local and European scholars, such as an investigation by M. Bietlot, of the Official University of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, into the social determinants of thought and one by Professor Bartier, of the Free University of Brussels, into the possibility of using indigenous political institutions in the development of a modern state.

Some of *L'Institut*'s most important activities have been experimentation in search of suitable social services for rural and urban areas, and the creation of both central and local training facilities for welfare workers.

#### BUSHMAN FILM

The Peabody Museum of Harvard University announces the release of **THE HUNTERS**, the first of a series of films to be produced by the Museum's Film Study Center on the South African Bushmen, based on material collected by expeditions sent to the Kalahari by the Museum in collaboration with the Smithsonian Institute from 1950 to 1958. The film, either in colour or in black-and-white, may be purchased or hired from Contemporary Films Inc., 267 West 25th Street, New York 1, N.Y.

#### URBAN LOBOLO ATTITUDES

*From:*

Professor Absolom Vilakazi,  
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Mia Brandel's article entitled: "Urban Lobolo Attitudes" which appeared in *African Studies* (17, 1, 1958) is not only interesting, but rather intriguing. There are several points which I should like to have elucidated. In the meantime, could she comment on the following as a sort of "clearing of the decks" preliminary to further discussion?

1. What does she mean by "lobolo-as-such" which she distinguishes from "lobolo-in-marriage"? Is she implying that there is "lobolo-outside-of-marriage"? If so, could she elaborate further on this point?

Or, does she mean by "lobolo-as-such" the theory that underlies "lobolo" or the ideal statements about it? If lobolo-as-such is the same as lobolo in theory (which would be a definition of how many beasts a man ideally gives) does "lobolo-in-marriage" then mean the actual lobolo that is, in fact, given in each individual case?

I suspect that this is not what she means. If she did mean this, then there would be nothing new in the idea as all field research discovers the disparity between the actual and the ideal.

2. (a) What are the distinguishing features of "urban lobolo" as against rural lobolo — or would she oppose it to what she calls "tribal lobolo"?

(b) If hers is the urban-tribal dichotomy, where would she place lobolo as practised in non-tribal and non-urban situations, e.g. mission stations like Groutville, Emfundisweni, etc.?

I note that on page 39, she defines "tribal lobolo" as that which is found in tribal areas according to anthropologists. She follows this, however, with the statement: "It does not stand for lobolo as it might function at the moment in some tribal areas." Now, what exactly does this mean? What is this latter kind of lobolo called? Or, does she suggest here, delicately, the need for another category, probably "lobolo-in-fact in 'some' tribal areas"? Presumably, the anthropologists have not described this unclassified category.

3. I have considerable difficulty in understanding what she means by ". . . the changing emphasis from cultural or social fatherhood to biological motherhood or fatherhood." (p.39) Could she elaborate on this with examples? Does it, for instance, mean that illegitimate

children are being increasingly regarded as belonging to the biological father instead of to the girl's father and family? This would call for documentation.

On page 39, she mentions the changes that have taken place in the ways of living of the Africans. She mentions, for example, individualism and what she calls "part assimilation of European marriage and of marriage relationships; of women as wives," and in general, "of the rights of man." She does not, however, tell us how these changes have come about: Surely not by the mere fact of living in a modern city like Johannesburg!

Perhaps many of the difficulties encountered in the analysis such as is offered by Mrs Brandel, and indeed, much of the confusion which characterizes thinking and writing on African affairs in South Africa, arise from what Charles T. Stewart refers to as "the uncritical adoption by sociological writers of demographic distinctions between urban and rural populations in terms of residence."<sup>1</sup> As he clearly points out, local density of a resident population is not a reliable measure of urban functioning. What never seems to be grasped in South Africa, and what Mrs Brandel obviously does not realize is the fact that there are areas in South Africa which are geographically rural but which are functionally urban. Mission stations throughout the country are such areas, and anybody who visits places like Groutville, Driefontein, Emfundisweni, to mention only a few, will discover the distinctly urban outlook of the people there as against the outlook of the tribesmen congregated at the compounds in the heart of Johannesburg or Durban or those who live (or should I say lived) in the "locations-in-the-sky" and worked as "houseboys" in the cities. And these mission stations are important feeders to Johannesburg, Durban, Capetown, etc.

The changes which Mrs Brandel enumerates and naively attributes to urbanization are a direct result of Christian teaching in the mission stations and the mission schools which have been centres of Wes-

ternization, as "Father" Verwoerd recognizes, and hopes to halt or reverse.

Perhaps the most revealing statement in the whole of Mrs Brandel's article and one which explains much of the confusion in her analysis appears on page 41: "The respondents were 48 nurses and student nurses whose tribal and religious affiliations . . . are here left out of consideration." This precedes the following statistics about the respondents' educational attainments and marital status:

Matriculants	3	Single	41
Teachers Certificates	7	Married	4
Junior Certificates	36	Divorced	2
Unknown	2	Engaged	1

Obviously, it is not realized that among Africans in South Africa as elsewhere in Africa, education and Christianity go together, and that therefore the choice of a place like a training hospital from which to get subjects was to give 100% consideration to religious affiliations. In fact, Mrs Brandel found that all the respondents were identified with some Christian church. (p.41)

However, the relevant point to raise here is why, if she wanted to get anything significant at all, should she decide to leave religious considerations out of a discussion of lobolo? Is it because lobolo has no religious significance at all, or is Mrs Brandel just unaware of the ritual aspects of the matter? Or does she deliberately exclude considerations of Christian religion because she fears they might distort the objectivity of her observations?

Clearly, we need new conceptual tools here. A definition of "rural" and "urban" which is based on statistical or demographic norms is inadequate for the kind of analysis we need to make. To paraphrase Stewart, the significant changes in the structure and functioning of any group begin for the sociologist, with the transition from kinship groups to looser social groups; from a communalistic outlook to individualism. These are functional things that are relevant to the problems of modern Africa and "The change from dispersed to

nucleated residence patterns is incidental."<sup>2</sup>

I am suggesting here, that the structural and functional changes which are really significant for our analysis, and such as are enumerated in the article under discussion, are not necessarily an accompaniment of urban living in South Africa. They are rather much more closely correlated to Christianity and education. I am suggesting, also, that in investigating these changes, we would do well to examine the underlying presuppositions and value systems of the people who have changed, and we will discover there, that "urban" living in the geographical sense does not imply any changes in values. There are too many people who have spent much of their lives working in white kitchens in Johannesburg and Durban or in commercial and business concerns who are functionally tribal, and too many who live in geographically rural areas but who are functionally urban, for us to be satisfied with simple dichotomies as urban-rural in their demographic sense.

One final comment on this whole problem. We do need to give careful thought to a basic assumption which everybody seems to make when writing or speaking about Africans. This assumption is that the tribal African and the westernized African are merely on opposite poles of the same continuum, and that between them, there are all degrees and shades of tribalism or westernization, depending on which term the writer prefers to use.

Again, this betrays, in anthropological thinking, a refusal to accept or face up to the problem of values. The assumption here is that the lives of tribal and westernized Africans are qualitatively the same; that westernized African lawyer or M.D. or university professor, or the African nurse or teacher, or the African minister of religion, is qualitatively, i.e. in terms of beliefs and world view, still the tribesman. This seems to be a palpable fallacy in thinking, but is persisted in. Do we not need to take a long look at this problem and re-examine the basic assumptions?

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 156.

*Rejoinder by:*

Mrs Mia Brandel,  
Johannesburg.

1. *Lobolo*-as-such means *lobolo* itself, *lobolo* outside marriage, unconnected with marriage. I follow here Dr M. D. W. Jeffreys<sup>1</sup> who points out that *lobolo* exists outside marriage and that "this logical extension of the *lobolo* principle is widespread".

2. (b) Exactly to avoid the difficulties brought forward by Professor Vilakazi, I defined the meaning in which I use the term "urban" as "the *lobolo* institution as found functioning in Johannesburg amongst Africans in various stages of detribalization" (p.39P.) I do not know how one should define "rural *lobolo*", but I did not need the concept in my study. "Tribal *lobolo*" means the *lobolo* as functioning in a tribal kind of society, which may be in rural areas, or in urban areas. After rereading the passage Professor Vilakazi will see that I clearly defined the former in terms of an area, the latter in terms of a societal form, or a society which, as Professor Vilakazi writes, is "functionally tribal".

3. and 2. (a) The changes in and the new features of the urban *lobolo* will be the subject of a second paper which will, I hope, be published in *African Studies* in due course. The principal sources of these changes have been summarized on p. 39 of the article under discussion. I would beg Professor Vilakazi to be patient and await this second paper.

In my opinion urbanization is not "a direct result of Christian teaching in the mission stations and the mission schools which have been centres of Westernization", as Professor Vilakazi writes. With Professor J. Clyde Mitchell, who emphatically agrees with Professor J. H. Coetzee<sup>2</sup> on this point, I hold that urbanization and Westernization (to which I add Christianization) are clearly distinct processes which may go together but may also not, and the distinction between

which it is very important to make. Theoretically, Christianization is a religious process; urbanization, a sociological, and Westernization, a cultural one. Christianity is not the whole of Western Civilization. Urbanization goes on all over the world in different degrees, and can take place without either Christianization or Westernization, and Westernization can proceed without Christianization. There are many non-Christian Western people, and many non-Western Christian people.

That Christianity and education were originally one whole for most Africans in South Africa, Professor Vilakazi has shown very ably in his article "A Reserve from Within"<sup>3</sup>, and to these two could be added Civilization. But this appears to apply only to the first generation educated, and possibly also, although already in a changed form, to the second generation. The third generation educated distinguishes these processes clearly (as I hope to show in a forthcoming study on African Christianity). The Africans I am acquainted with distinguish "an urbanized man", from "an educated" or "a civilized person". No doubt, Christian teaching may have started off the spark, but in Johannesburg there are many urbanized, and educated, and even Westernized Africans who are no longer Christian, and to them, Professor Vilakazi's statement that "among Africans in South Africa as elsewhere in Africa education and Christianity go together" does not apply.

With regard to the religious affiliation of the respondents, since all were professedly Christian as I mentioned, I should have talked about their 'denominational' instead of 'religious' affiliations. I did not say that "lobolo has no religious significance at all". My reason for leaving denominational and tribal affiliations out of consideration, were given as "the sample was too small to search for significant correlations" (p.41). I would, however, venture the observation that the changes in the function of *lobolo* (and I only

<sup>1</sup>M. D. W. Jeffreys, "Lobolo is Child-price", *African Studies*, 10, 4, 1951, pp. 19ff.

<sup>2</sup>Record of Proceedings of the 6th Annual Conference held at Margate, 9th to 12th Sept. 1957, of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Southern Africa, pp. 104-5.

<sup>3</sup>*African Studies*, 16, 2, 1957, pp. 93-101.

deal with the new functions of *lobolo* in this first part of my study) are related rather to urban conditions than to Christian influences. In spite of this, however, I do mention an influence from the "Christian marriage ceremony" on the *lobolo*, in sofar as the expenses of a Church wedding have "increased the need for it" (p.43).

Professor Vilakazi further questions the meaning of "rural" and "urban" as applied to my sample of nurses. General suspicion required strictest anonymity, and no attempt was made to obtain exact information about the *place* where they were born and where they grew up. It was left to the nurses themselves to say whether they were "urban born" or "rural born", and whether they grew up in the country or in town. Some ventured unelicited information such as, "I

grew up with my aunt in a location, but it was really like the country". The criteria by which Africans themselves judge this would be an interesting study in itself, and till they tell us these, we anthropologists can only guess. That they do distinguish between what they call "a country-born" and a "town-born" girl, is the impression I receive from my new research.

*In fine*, I am very grateful to Professor Vilakazi for his observations, and I seem to agree with him that a study of the value systems of 'modern' Africans is overdue. My *lobolo* study exactly aims at being a small contribution to our knowledge of changing values. For, surely, its basic assumption is that, when institutions are changing, the values underlying them are changing, too.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life.** V. W. TURNER. Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 1957. xxiv+348 pp., 7 plates, 6 maps, 23 tables, 7 social dramas, 3 appendices. 35s.

Dr Turner has, as Professor Max Gluckman puts it in his Foreword, developed what is, for African studies, a new mode of analysis (p. xi). Although his book will probably be best remembered as a milestone in anthropological method, its conspicuous success here should not be allowed to overshadow its other merits or the fascinating character of the Northern Rhodesian tribe whose village life it describes.

An outstanding feature of *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* is the author's skilful blending of the general and the particular. Firstly, he makes an analysis of Ndembu social organization. In doing this he not only uses orthodox anthropological methods but also presents unusually full census material along the lines of recent reports by Barnes and Mitchell.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, to give flesh and blood to the full-boned skeleton that emerges, he depicts the whole organism in operation during crucial episodes — social dramas as he calls them — when the general principles he has derived from his analysis manifest themselves with particular clarity. He brings out the purpose served by this method when he states: "A social system is in dynamic movement through space and time, in some way analogous to an organic system in that it exhibits growth and decay... In one aspect, the social drama is a process which reveals realignments of social relations at critical points of structural maturation or decay; in another, it may be regarded as a trial of strength between conflicting interests in which persons or groups try to manipulate to their own advantage the actually existing network of social relations... within the

system. Thus the social drama may represent either the natural, inherent development of a given social system through space-time at a distinct phase, at a critical point of maturation, or the deliberate attempts by some of its members to accelerate or retard that development. It may be either an index or a vehicle of change" (pp. 161-62). "The social drama is a limited area of transparency on the otherwise opaque surface of regular, uneventful social life" (p. 93).

What are some of the principles of social organization portrayed in the social dramas that Turner presents? These have to do with the general characteristics of the tribe about whom the book is written. The Ndembu are matrilineal, and the "male members of [a woman's] lineage transfer her economic and sexual services to a male member of another lineage, but never renounce their claim on her reproductive capacity" (p. 64). Post-marital residence, however, is virilocal; and divorce is frequent. Turner regards "the contradiction between virilocal marriage and matrilineal descent" as "a crucial determinant of structural instability at all levels of organization" (p. 290). It is a constant threat to Ndembu social groups. Only by astute leadership and the use of elaborate machinery for reconciling differences and affecting compromises can any semblance of depth be given to kinship groups. In dividing social dramas into the phases of breach, crisis, operation of redressive mechanisms, and either re-integration of the social group or social recognition of irreparable schism, Turner shows how they are usually related to this central problem of keeping groups together. And the values of the Ndembu themselves seem to be oriented about this problem, as illustrated by the reason a man gave Turner for forgiving his uterine nephew for carelessly wrecking his bicycle: "People are more important than things".

Although the fitful unity of the village rests on kinship, the Ndembu have a wider, more permanent unity manifesting itself at

<sup>1</sup>See especially J. A. Barnes, *Marriage in a Changing Society*, Cape Town, 1951, and J. Clyde Mitchell, *The Yao Village*, Manchester, 1956.

the level of the vicinage, the chiefdom, and even the tribe. Referring to the social functions of ritual (to which he will devote his second book), Turner says: "Ritual associated with corporate groups such as lineages and villages is meagre and can only act as a temporary brake against fission. But ritual performed by cult associations that cut across villages, vicinages and even adjacent chiefdoms . . . acts to keep the common values of Ndembu society constantly before the roving individualists of which it is composed" (p. xxi). This passage brings out the importance of a factor in social organization that is often overlooked, viz., the influence of public opinion which, though appealing to the values of a comparatively wide cultural area, operates mainly within the narrower range of a neighbourhood gossip-group. As Turner shows, vicinages are, in terms of kinship, heterogeneous groups; and yet they play an important part in social control.

As the book's title suggests, the analysis is founded on the proposition, the value of which Gluckman has frequently illustrated, that groups have "an inherent tendency to segment and then to become bound together by crosscutting alliances" (p. xxiii). Turner shows this to be a useful conceptual tool. In particular, he demonstrates how the effects of lineage segmentation, involving the emergence of the matricentric family or, in its later form, the uterine sibling group, are in some measure mitigated by marriage and by the alliance of alternate generations. (The latter, incidentally, shows up clearly in Ndembu village plans.) He demonstrates, too, how, after kinship groups have split and live in separate villages and their "conflict has been absorbed by the wider social system" (p. 177), their common maternal descent, now vaguely left to tradition rather than precisely memorized, binds them together as members of the same vicinage or even wider social group.

There are times when, reading the human story of the vicissitudes of Mukanza Village, one wonders whether there is not something more than science in the author's deft recounting of a complex pattern of events, trends and influences. In other words, does

he make the mistake of handling too many variables at once — psychological traits as well as structural tensions — and just contrive to do it thanks to his intuitive grasp of the intricacies of the intrigues he is describing? In any event, he presents the story skilfully and convincingly, and gives us the following plausible justification for describing his social dramas as total behaviour episodes rather than as sociological abstractions: "It may be objected that such factors as innate psycho-biological constitution and personality variations determined by differential training in the early years of childhood take precedence over sociological factors in shaping the events to be described. But it is clear that the different personalities involved occupy social positions that must inevitably come into conflict, and each occupant of a position must present his case in terms of generally accepted norms. A person can avoid disputes over succession only by renouncing the claim to office vested in his position. In a society governed by rules of kinship, he cannot abrogate his position, into which he is born and by virtue of which he is a member of the village community. Personality may influence the form and intensity of the dispute, it cannot abolish the situation in which conflict must arise. A person who endeavours to avoid pressing his claim to office when the position of headman falls vacant is subject to intense pressure from his uterine kin and from his children to put it forward. If he fails to do so, there occurs a displacement of the locus of conflict, not a resolution or by-passing of conflict. Instead of leading a group of kin against the representatives of other pressure groups, he becomes the target of criticism from members of his own group. At some point in the social process arising from succession he is compelled to turn and defend himself, whatever his temperament or character. The situation in an Ndembu village closely parallels that found in Greek drama where one witnesses the helplessness of the human individual before the Fates; but in this case the Fates are the necessities of the social process" (p. 94).

M. G. MARWICK

**The Chiga of Western Uganda.** MAY M. EDEL. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London. 1957. 35s.

The field work on which this book was based was done in the years 1932 and 1933. Much has happened in the anthropological world since then.

As the main chapter headings on social structure, kinship, marriage, economics, social control, religion and education show, the content reflects the usual interests which field workers had a quarter of a century ago, but signs in the actual writing indicate awareness of subsequent currents of thought. Again, as might be expected, the book gains from the very general manner in which it is written, as an all round picture of Kiga<sup>1</sup> tribal life. Many cultural features of great interest are recorded, but the account is too short and too inclusive to provide any basis for comparative study unless by way of stimulus to further work. The author was clearly successful in sharing Kiga life to a considerable extent and winning the confidence of the people. Interesting distinctions are made between norm and practice at a number of points.

Social structure is dealt with in terms of the larger groupings of clan and lineage in relation to settlement. The genealogical structure of lineages is very extensive and as they are also localised to a high degree, the reader is bound to wonder whether their social activity can have been as vague and haphazard as the impression conveyed. Although by 1932 the Kiga had been little affected by external contacts, the *pax britannica* already reigned and it is difficult not to believe that the pattern of inter-segment feud must formerly have led to the same kind of segmentary structure as has been described for other agnatically localised societies, even in the absence of any highly formalised leadership roles. It is true, however, that all students of Kiga society have noted that the segmentary structure, implicit in the system of kinship and residence,

has been greatly obscured by events immediately before and after the establishment of Colonial Rule. The Nyabingi cult of priests spread from Ruanda and acquired a political influence which cut across the agnatic groupings. The forceful suppression of this cult and the rounding up of its leaders by the British and Belgian authorities, drove all pagan religion underground so firmly that much of it seems actually to have been forgotten. For these reasons both the lineage system in its political aspects and the religious system are difficult to reconstruct.

At the time the field work was carried out, the author thought that the Kiga system must be due to cultural breakdown under pressure of constant attack from Ruanda and Ankole, but later recognised that it might be of long standing, since similar systems had subsequently been described for the Nuer and other peoples of north-eastern Africa. The Kiga lack the stratified social organisation of the Hima-Tutsi kingdoms by which they were almost surrounded, nor do they practise much of the Hima-Tutsi cattle ritual.

As in some other parts of Western Uganda, a husband shares his sexual rights over his wife with his agnates. This applies regularly to his younger unmarried brothers. It is said that if a woman takes lovers discreetly from a wider group of his kinsmen, her husband should not object. Those who assist him in his dramatised struggle with the bride before consummation of marriage appear to have special claims in this respect. An original form of ghost marriage is reported, whereby the ghost of a dead person may demand a particular girl by possessing and speaking through one of his living relatives. In this case the girl must be married for him and cooks for him, while cohabiting with one of his living kinsmen. Unfortunately, we are told nothing of all the jural implications of this custom.

On the whole it seems plausible to regard the Kiga as of similar stock to the Iru of Ankole and cultural differences may be due to the absence of a Hima stratum in Kiga

<sup>1</sup>I use the now accepted orthography although the spelling Chiga is used throughout the book.

society. In actual fact, much of Kigezi District, which is now regarded as being inhabited by Kiga, appears formerly to have been the domain of various Hima ruling lineages of the Shambo clan, all of which became semi-autonomous after the break-up of the larger Shambo kingdom of Mpororo. However, the region in which most of Dr Edel's work was done seems to be part of the small area which was never overrun by Hima or Tutsi rulers.

It is a pity that the terms "county" and "province" are used with a meaning quite different from the one they are given in the administrative structure of Uganda. The book lacks a bibliography, nor is reference made at any point to the fairly vast body of literature directly and indirectly relevant to the Kiga. However, it gives a good descriptive account of the main features of traditional Kiga culture.

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**The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti.** K. A. BUSIA. Oxford University Press. 1951. xii+229 pp. Three appendices. 18s.

The author, who is himself an Ashanti, opens with a description of how the head of a lineage is created and then proceeds to tell how a chief is enthroned. But just when one would expect details — as to dress, which point of the compass is faced, what words are said — one is fobbed off with the remark: "On the same day, after the ceremony in the stoolhouse, another sheep . . . was killed . . ." Here was a golden opportunity to give an account of the enthronement of a matri-lineal chief on, for example, the lines of an account of the English coronation ceremony, but it was missed.

The description of the Ashanti army before 1900 leaves much to be desired. Thus, recalling the Zulu and Dahomey systems, one asks in vain whether a regular army was kept, if so where its barracks and ordnance depots were and so forth. A diagram is given (p. 14) of the army on the move, but there is

no indication of a commissariat. The author repeatedly stresses "that kinship was what determined military service", as on p. 48; but the evidence is that land tenure, as is usually the case, was the basis of military service for one finds (p. 48): "If people went from one Division to settle permanently in another, then they became liable for military service in the Division in which they settled".

Rattray regarded the land tenure system of Ashanti as very similar to that of Great Britain in medieval times. Busia (p. 57) writes that this approach was erroneous, but produces no sufficient evidence to support his contention. Indeed, the details he gives of land tenure and its ensuing obligations in Ashanti certainly support Rattray.

Mention is made of the chief's messengers but, one is left wondering who they were. Were they a special body of men, eunuchs, for instance, and if so how were they recruited, or were they just members of the chief's own lineage? Each chief was subordinate to, and directly responsible to, the Asantahene or King of Ashanti and in this respect resembled the nobles under King John in England.

The statement that the queen mother is described as the mother of the chief, though often she is his sister, shows that this culture is not unique because similar conditions are found elsewhere as, for instance, among the Tikar tribes of the Cameroons.

The statement on page 20 that menstruating women are regarded as ceremonially unclean sounds to me like a bit of European lore. On page 1, one reads: "The theory of procreation held in Ashanti is that a human being is compounded of two principles: the blood which he inherits from the mother, and the other the 'spirit' which is derived from the father". One is reminded of the blood taboo in Genesis 9.4, "the life which is the blood shall you not eat". On page 30 one reads that at the sacrifices to the God Drobo "the blood is poured upon the shrine". As blood is taboo, a woman showing "blood" is taboo, which is very different from being unclean.

White has apparently some significance since white hens are used in sacrifice, the performers are dressed in white and the

chief's "soul warden" dabs white clay on the chief's toes and chest (p. 34), but one is not told the esoteric significance of white. Are the ancestral ghosts white?

African derivations are usually rationalisations. The derivation of the name Mampong for the name of a town is an instance. The account of it (p. 46), is that this town soon after it was founded, became so very large "that people who saw it exclaimed '*Oman pon ben na apire ha yi*' (What a big nation is this that has appeared here.) Hence the name Mampong (*Oman* – nation, *pon* – big)." In other words, though tiny little hamlets always have names, this large settlement was without a name until some surprised stranger was led to exclaim "*Oman pon*, etc." This was unlikely to have been the case: hence the above derivation is likewise unlikely.

Busia refers continually to a Division but he never gives the Ashanti name for this concept and one wonders whether there ever existed such a unit. He writes (p. 61): "A Division in Ashanti consisted, as now, of an aggregation of units: the lineage, the village, the sub-division, and then the Division itself." What was it called in Ashanti? Dr Busia would have done well to have used vernacular terms.

It is interesting to note that, under Ashanti law, offences were divided broadly into breaches of tabu and breaches of family law. Only breaches of tabu could carry the death penalty, though it was seldom inflicted, and so were ultimately referable to the Asantahene. Breaches of family law were settled by reconciliation and recompense, not by punishment.

Chapter VI resolves into a discussion of what one might call the conflict of laws: the conflict between Ashanti tribal law and British law. It is a well known axiom in English law that where such a conflict exists, English law prevails. Dr Busia shows how, in the desecration of the Golden Stool by Ashanti despoilers, English law prevailed to the detriment of chiefs and tribal authority. The culprits were only found guilty of theft under English law and not of desecration under Ashanti law with the ensuing death penalty. Dr Busia remarks (p. 117): "This

brought home not only to the chiefs but also to the people the fact that Ashanti was not a sovereign nation." He continues: "The support which Government gives to the chief is on the basis of the chief's subordinate status. The chief's powers are limited and defined by ordinances: both he and his subjects are under the control of the Government, which the people associate with limitless power, endless wealth, and a high prestige. By comparison, the chief has limited powers, scanty wealth, and a lowered prestige, daily in evidence in his relationship with the District Commissioner or Chief Commissioner or the Governor."

Here is a picture of the position of the Ashanti chief to-day, but one has to wade through a medley of unorganized detail to arrive at this picture of *sic transit gloria mundi*. Much of the rest of the book is an expansion of this theme. Far too much detail is given in the way of sections from ordinances. Most of chapter VII is extracts from ordinances showing firstly, the limitations imposed on the chief and secondly, the new laws he is called on to enforce.

Dr Busia then discusses the difficulties that arise between Christian Ashantis and non-Christian Ashantis. The holiday in Ashanti is Thursday. Christian converts may not observe it as a holiday, because to do so would be to acknowledge a pagan god, but the Asantahene is this god's representative on earth and so the Asantahene is insulted, but he is, under English law, powerless to remedy the insult.

This book is a disappointment. In the early chapters there is little that is new. One wishes that Dr Busia had made a study of Hocart's *Kingship* and had then given a comparative study of Ashanti kingship which one sees differs but little from the usual run of divine rulers in Africa. That part of the book which deals with the position of the chief under British rule lacks method and hence lacks clarity. There is a medley of detail instead of a clear-cut picture of the Ashanti ruler shorn of much of his power and glory. The second half of the book could have done with a great deal of pruning. If the second part were reduced to half its present

size, some clear picture of the position of the Ashanti chief under British rule might have emerged.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

**Bantu Philosophie: Ontologie und Ethik.**

PLACIDE TEMPELS, O.F.M. Mit Nachworten von Ernst Dammann, Hermann Friedmann, Alexander Rüstow und Janheinz Jahn. Wolfgang Rothe Verlag, Heidelberg. 1956. 154 pp. 7.80 D.M. Imprimatur.

According to Father Tempels, a "primitive"<sup>1</sup> culture, like an advanced civilization, has its own conception of the universe, which underlies its religious ideas and practices, its ethics, epistemology, law, language, institutions and entire human behaviour and conduct. It is this ontology of the Bantu that gives them their characteristic identity, their "Eigenart", particularly since they, like all "primitives", in the author's opinion, live by and according to ideas to a greater extent than "civilized" peoples (p. 11). Without a deeper, humbler and more respectful penetration into the Bantu personality and its underlying cosmology, one cannot understand him nor enter into spiritual contact with him. The failure in the past to have effected this penetration accounts for the failure of Christianity, now more and more realized, (p. 116ff) and for the fact that our materialistic civilization has been unable to transform the Bantu into a truly civilized being (*ibidem*), but has created "growing numbers of disillusioned, de-racinated and degenerated Africans, who are sustained neither by the philosophical inheritance of their forebears, nor by the Christian world-view or the philosophy of the whites" (p. 113). That and how this failure can still be changed into success by an entirely new approach, is the aim of the book. Like many other contemporary writings of missionaries, it calls for a total change in the techniques of evangelization, and a stop to the process of "self-alienation". But unlike them, it

attempts, for the first time, to explain what this "self" is, by trying to set out the bases of Bantu philosophy.

Perhaps it is well to begin by explaining the author's use of the words "Bantu" and "Philosophy". Father Tempels came in 1933 as missionary to the Bemba on Lake Mweru, where he stayed until the war when he went to the Luba. In 1946, he returned to Belgium for a holiday and remained there four years. In 1952 he came back to Africa and is now in the Kolwezi district of the Congo. Although, says Janheinz Jahn (p. 148) different Bantu tribes are found in those regions, it cannot be said that the author made a systematic study of the world-view (*Weltanschauung*) of 40 million Bantu. We shall return to this later.

Father Tempels uses "philosophy" in the sense accepted in the East rather than in the West, i.e., to him, philosophy to be philosophy does not require a written systemization and a coherent logical recording. It seems to me necessary to clarify this for Western readers. Bantu philosophy, like Chinese, or Indian philosophy, is "a characteristic intuitive-associative system with an alternative to the concept of causality as we understand it, and a logic of its own — a system in which not external mechanical causation accounts for natural phenomena but in which the principle of linkage and mutual influences in the universe of things and events lies in a pattern of structure".<sup>2</sup> This is as the East has always seen philosophy, and it is also the way Bantu philosophy must be seen. Philosophy, according to Father Tempels (p. 55), is that which gives direction and purpose to everything one does and is.

What is this Bantu philosophy? The central ontological concept, the essence of Bantu metaphysics, is "Life-strength" or "Force" or "Power" (p. 24). The Bantu "Being" is "Life-strength". As against our static one, the Bantu have a dynamic ontological principle (p. 27). This "Force" or "Power" is operative in various degrees of

<sup>1</sup>Words and phrases in inverted commas are literal translations from the author's text.

<sup>2</sup>The reviewer of Joseph Needham's and Wang Ling's *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 2, *History of Scientific Thought*, Cambridge University Press, in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 19 April, 1957.

strength throughout the universe of man, animal and vegetable. It informs animate and inanimate matter, it is in the living and, so long as they are remembered, in the dead (pp. 33, 34-5, 39). Life-force can increase and decrease in strength (p. 30). Every physical injury or mental or psychological impairment, tiredness or failure, is a weakening of this dynamic essence (p. 32). Good is what increases life-force; bad is what diminishes it (p. 75 and p. 89). Here we have the bases of Bantu epistemology (Chapter II) and Bantu ethics (Chapter IV) which, as in all philosophies, flow naturally from the ontology. Bantu aesthetics were not studied by Father Tempels.

The concept *Muntu* is the alpha and omega of Bantu psychology (Chapter III). Only in so far as the individual has life-strength, is he truly *Muntu*, which implies "humanus" rather than "homo". Man is a social being, in the sense that he realizes that he as a life-force stands actually and inwardly and continually in effective and vital communication with other forces, above and below him (p. 61-2). The individual is ontologically determined by his name (p. 63).

To anyone acquainted with ancient thought from Scandinavia (the *Edda*), over Finland (the *Kalevala*) to central Asia (*Shamanism*), from certain aspects of Confucianism in China to some aspects of the Shakti-worship in India, all this sounds familiar.

In a chapter called "Life-Restitution", the author deals with the philosophical bases of Bantu law and justice, with their emphasis on not the punishment of the culprit but his re-integration into the community of men, and restitution of the damaged life-force of his victim. In a final chapter the author deals with the role of "us civilizers" towards Bantu philosophy, especially at this stage of history when the Bantu have discovered that our superiority is technical and not ethical (p. 148). Disillusioned, the Bantu return to their ancient wisdom, which has never yet

been touched by Christianity, and it becomes a weapon against white civilization (pp. 12-3 and 148). Or else they join the growing number of the half-civilized non-Europeans with their souls split between the new forms of life and their old philosophy (pp. 12 and 118).

The weakness of Father Tempels's important and revolutionary book is twofold. Firstly, the difficulties of interpreting a philosophical idea belonging to one culture into terms belonging to another have, in my opinion, not been adequately solved. As a Catholic priest, the author took what was familiar to him, the Thomistic Aristotelianism of the Scholastics; and amongst the available Western systems there might not be a better one. One wonders, however, whether the terminology of, for instance, the *Advaita Vedanta* might not have been more congenial. Secondly, in the hands of this Christian missionary, Bantu philosophy becomes mainly Bantu theology; yet Bantu thought is a philosophy, in its own right. The book's title is misleading; it does not deal primarily with Bantu philosophy, but with the Christian-theological implications of this philosophy. Nevertheless, it is the first and only serious study of a subject so far avoided by modern sociology and anthropology, particularly with reference to Bantu peoples. Although I would not go so far as the author who says that "Ethnology without philosophy is nothing but folklore" (p. 17), this avoidance has deprived European scholarship of an important source of insight and understanding.<sup>3</sup>

Since the book was originally written in Flemish, it could not have reached a wide audience. It has since become available in German and French editions (an English translation is still sadly lacking), and its importance has been acclaimed widely on the Continent. Evidence of this is the addition to each of these translations, of essays by some of the leading authorities on Africa in France and Germany. In the German edition, here under review; these are: the

<sup>3</sup>I would like to register my debt of gratitude to Mr (now Professor) Kenneth Kirkwood who, in the early days of my study of urban Africans, satisfied my quest for a book which would give the mainsprings of what and why (instead of how and how much) the Africans think, feel, act and dream as they do, by mentioning Father Tempels's book to me.

sociologist Professor A. Rüstow of the University of Heidelberg, author of *Ortsbestimmung der Gegenwart*; the nature philosopher Professor H. Friedmann of the University of Heidelberg, author of *Die Welt der Formen* and *Wissenschaft und Symbol*; the expert on African languages, Professor E. Dammann of the University of Hamburg, and Janheinz Jahn, translator and interpreter of contemporary African literature and poetry, and editor of the anthology *Schwarzer Orpheus*. These essays may be of greater interest than the body of the book, to the less philosophically and more scientifically inclined readers of this journal.

That Bantu philosophy, as presented by Father Tempels, deserves to be taken seriously, they all affirm. Dammann's and Friedmann's contributions are mainly concerned with finding confirmation for his findings in various characteristics of Bantu languages. Rüstow stresses that the book shows how Africans "can be made familiar with Western civilization without thereby destroying their traditional societal, spiritual and religious structure" (p. 138), which he, unfortunately, sees mainly in terms of "without making the ruins into a seedbed for communist hate propaganda" (p. 138). Rüstow seems to argue like those who want Youth Clubs to curb juvenile delinquency! He discusses similarities between Bantu and other philosophies from Parmenides to Heidegger, and writes, "Many trends of thought of the latest nuclear physicists and the latest atomistic theories may fit in more easily with Bantu thought than with prevalent European thought" (p. 139-140).

Both Rüstow and Janheinz Jahn criticize Father Tempels's easy identification of the Bantu concept of God with the Christian one. Janheinz Jahn's contribution, however, seems to me of importance because he links up modern African poetry with Bantu philosophy; "These poems are unintelligible in their depth without knowledge of the basic metaphysical views of the Bantu as ex-

plained by Father Tempels" (p. 152). The evidence that he advances in illustration of this suggests, however, that "The views explained by Father Tempels can be found, not only in all Bantu tribes, and not only amongst all Africans, but even amongst Africans which have been settled for many generations in the New World" (pp. 149-150). In support, he quotes, amongst others, Professor Herskovits, who expressed his surprise and interest in this very fact (p. 149). This opens wide vistas regarding the essential unity—a unity of mystic and thought—of all peoples of Africa and of African stock. But this is only one of the problems raised by Father Tempels's book, problems which have already caused many controversies. I shall now discuss some of the others.

Is this "Bantu philosophy" also the philosophy of our Bantu peoples in South Africa, and if so, what and how much of it is still alive and operative to-day? In the literature on our South African Bantu there is sporadic mention of the importance of a notion called variously "Power", "Force", etc. The most complete statement can be found, I believe, in Mrs Hoernlé's unassuming but perceptive little study in *Thinking with Africa*.<sup>4</sup> Here is a striking similarity in sociological terms with what Father Tempels expresses in philosophical terms. Reference is, however, exclusively to the Bantu of South Africa. Another author who comes to mind, but who generalizes about "the African", is Diedrich Westermann, who appears to have derived his knowledge only to a small extent from Bantu-speaking peoples.<sup>5</sup> Yet he writes such things as "Their [i.e. of all things] essential quality is power . . . (p. 187). "Aged persons possess a large amount of power . . . (p. 190). "If the African is asked what he considers the greatest good, his answer will be: Life" (p. 195).

In partial answer to the second part of the question, I might mention how, from the very beginning of my urban research, I noticed the frequent use of the words

<sup>4</sup>A. W. Hoernlé, "Religion in Native Life", in *Thinking with Africa*, Assembled and edited by Milton Stauffer, New York, 1927, pp. 84-109, and more particularly pp. 86, 99 and 107.

<sup>5</sup>Page references in this paragraph are to Diedrich Westermann, *The African To-day*, Oxford University Press, 1939.

"strength" and "strong", where we would use "popular", "influential", "important", "lucky", "rich", "gifted", "learned", etc.; but, with our present inadequate knowledge about urban Africans' beliefs and values, the question cannot be answered fully.

Another question would be: Can this philosophy be and remain the African philosophy in a modern world? That it need not and essentially is not, the "philosophy of illiterates" (p. 150) Janheinz Jahn answers by quoting poetry from precisely the "most highly civilized Africans" of to-day (p. 150 and p. 151), and by showing that in this poetry is present, essentially unchanged and unaltered but probably deepened by a new articulation, the whole pattern of thought and feeling that Father Tempels described in philosophical terminology as "Bantu philosophy".

Obviously, Janheinz Jahn has no doubts whatever. But he is a European, and the real answer must come from the Africans themselves. For the moment they stand sharply divided. There is Senghor, the Africanophil, the Africanist, on one side, and James Wright, the Westernizer, the assimilationist, on the other side.<sup>6</sup> Césaire would stand somewhere in between. In South Africa, where the political struggle dims everything else, these questions have hardly yet been asked.

The implications of "Bantu philosophy" for the policies of "us colonizers" is another controversial subject raised by the book. There are many who will use the idea of a distinct Bantu philosophy and *Eigenart* in justifying a policy which aims at leaving the Africans to their own resources. On the other hand, this idea would be just as dangerous in the hands of those who would interpret all "self" which is different from their own as inferior, and therefore deserving destruction as soon and as thoroughly as possible.

The last question to be asked (which has been touched upon already) is raised by Rüstow. Is what the average European considers as typical European thought, i.e. his generally dualistic view of the universe, and

his mechanical concept of causality, really in concordance with the latest scientific discoveries? Or might a "Bantu" conception of the universe as a "force" or a system of "forces", perceived as a "monism" not afford a more adequate framework to pattern the latest findings in the worlds of stars and atoms?

There are many questions raised — no doubt unwittingly — by this "simple Christian missionary" (p. 146), and which for the time being defy a definite answer. We must first await the reaction of the English-speaking world (black and white) to Father Tempels's *Bantu Philosophy*.

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### The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandum

C. EDWARD HOPEN. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London. 1958. 165 pp., 2 Maps, 4 Illus. 30s.

The study of the transhumant cattle-herding Fulani (who call themselves Fulbe) of Gwandum Emirate in Northern Nigeria will undoubtedly be of interest not only to Fulani specialists but also to students of pastoral Hamitic societies. Taken as a whole the book has one major fault. Particularly in early chapters it suggests a collection of loosely connected articles rather than a book with a unitary theme. This may perhaps be the result of undue compression since many points worthy of expansion have had to be left for reasons of space. All this makes the book difficult to follow for the non-Fulani specialist since it is only in the final chapters that some general picture begins to emerge of the relationship of the pastoral family to the wider society as a whole. Nevertheless, the book contains much of interest.

A series of short early chapters outline the ethnic setting, the history of Fulani origins, the ecological background, Fulbe interest in their cattle, and patterns of transhumance. This leads to an interesting discussion of the

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, held in Paris, in September, 1946, under the auspices of *Présence Africaine*.

way in which the clan as a social group has lost much of its significance and how it has disintegrated into a series of tenuously linked polygynous families. In the period immediately before British conquest in 1903, which Fulbe call the 'time of war', people were grouped in endogamous clan-villages walled against the threat of aggression. The rinderpest epidemic of 1887-91, the emancipation of their slaves and the peaceful conditions brought by British rule all led to a dispersal from the clan-villages, and the society ceased to consist of warring clan-groups localised in fortified villages. Individual families came to assume responsibility for their own conduct independently of their traditional leaders and the range of agnatic kin concerned in marriage narrowed correspondingly.

Within this background the author discusses the pastoral family (either simple or compound) which is now the basic social group with a strongly corporate and independent character. Here Dr Hopen deals with the family and its herd, and the creation of the family and marriage, with considerable numerical documentation and within a developmental framework. He then proceeds to lay bare the structural constants in the marital relationship, in relations between father and son and brothers, and patterns of inheritance and polygyny. The book concludes with an attempt to place the family in its wider setting and to evaluate the significance of clanship today. Had something of this been given at the start it would have been easier to follow Dr Hopen in his analysis.

In the discussion of transhumance one misses any detailed information on the structure of the camps composed of up to twenty 'households' which are apparently of fluid composition. A study of the movements of sixty-three 'groups' is quoted (what a 'group' is, is not stated) showing an average one-way movement of seventy-three miles in a year. Here one would have liked to see a more detailed examination of the relation of the movements of herding camps to the ecology and other factors.

What perhaps emerges most clearly in this

account is the extent to which Fulbe identify themselves with their cattle. 'If cattle die the Fulbe will die'. 'Cattle surpass everything, they are even greater than one's father and mother'. The possession of cattle and adherence to the pastoral life are a convenient vehicle for the antagonism which the pastoral Fulbe exhibit towards the traditionally negroid sedentary cultivating Haabe people with whom they live in a complex state of symbiosis. The pastoralists depend upon the sale of milk to the settled Haabe for their staple food which is corn. Fulbe bring their herds of cattle to manure Haabe fields for cultivation. Despite, however, their conquering Fulani origins and their sense of superiority as pastoralists, it is the despised Haabe who are now increasingly gaining power in local government. Dr Hopen sketches in as much of this dependence between the two peoples as he judges sufficient to his description of the pastoral Fulbe family and admits frankly that a fuller analysis would be outside the scope of the present book.

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**La Possession at ses Aspects Théâtraux chez les Éthiopiens de Gondar.** MICHEL LEIRIS. *L'Homme, Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Géographie et de Linguistique*, new series, No. 1. Librairie Plon, Paris. 1958. 103 pp. No price.

In this short monograph, the first for a new series of papers to be published by *L'Homme*, M. Michel Leiris describes a spirit possession cult practised by the inhabitants of Gondar in Ethiopia, and discusses some of its psychological and social implications. His account is based on field work carried out about twenty-five years ago, in particular on information provided by a professional medium called Malkam-Ayyahou and her group of associates. The monograph is of high ethnographic quality, and there is ample and well documented case material.

The book will be of much interest to students of spirit possession cults elsewhere in Africa. Mediumistic practices of types similar to that described are widespread, but often they have been driven underground by government and mission repression, so that information about them is nowadays hard to come by, if it can be obtained at all. Although in Gondar as elsewhere the cult was under Government prescription, M. Leiris evidently succeeded in acquiring the willing co-operation of his informants. His account thus provides valuable comparative material, and at the same time it advances some suggestive hypotheses and lines of investigation which may well be useful elsewhere.

The inhabitants of Gondar apparently believe in the existence of many different spirits or *zar*, a number of which are supposed to be the spirits of eminent legendary or quasi-historical persons. Different *zar* are concerned with different kinds of human activity; thus some play the role of healer, others are concerned with trade and business, others with feasting and hospitality, others again with the maintenance of moral standards. A professional medium or "horse", as mediums are significantly called when they are in a state of possession, may be possessed by different *zar* at different times, and she (most mediums are women) is possessed on any specific occasion by the spirit most appropriate to the social situation then obtaining. Some *zar* have higher standing than others, and relations between the mediums themselves reflect these differences of status. Possession brings prestige, and mediums enjoy the sense of power it provides: women, whose social status is otherwise subordinate, may attain a measure of independence through membership of the cult. Its social aspect is also shown by the fact that *zar* are said to be most active during the dry season, when social relations are most intense: possession ceremonies are social occasions, they involve group participation and a good deal of feasting, gift-giving, dancing and miming and general jollity.

This leads to the theme, indicated in the title of the book, in which the author is chiefly interested; the question whether

mediums are really (as they claim) "unconscious" when in a state of apparent possession by a *zar* spirit, or whether they really know what they are doing and are in effect deliberately putting on a theatrical performance. M. Leiris concludes that while states of complete dissociation may sometimes be achieved, possession is a gradual process and very often a matter of degree, so that in many cases the medium knows quite well what he is doing when he seems to be possessed. Some convincing evidence is adduced in support of this view. But the author makes the important point that this does not at all imply that *zar* are not really believed in by initiates. The ceremonies are to be understood, at least in part, as necessary and socially-approved rites, and the acting out in conventional terms of the emotions and tensions to which the culture gives rise has an important cathartic effect on both performers and audiences.

This brief summary does very much less than justice to M. Leiris's important study, and students of Bantu possession cults especially will be impressed by the appropriateness of much of his analysis to a good deal of their own data. But apart from its African interest the book is an original contribution to the literature of shamanism, and it is to be hoped that we shall some day have an English translation of it.

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**Central Miwok Ceremonies.** E. W. GIFFORD. *Anthropological Records*, 14, 4, 1955, 261-318, University of California.

This is a detailed ethnographic account of various ceremonies of the Miwok of central California. The ceremonies are classified roughly as Sacred, Commemorative and Profane and the focus is on the Sacred "god-impersonating cult", "one of the four principal religious systems of California".

More attention is given to dress and paraphenalia than to the values they symbolise and the broader social context in which the

ceremonies were once meaningful. This is more or less inevitable in a work in which most of the matters discussed are now things of the past, but it is all the more confusing that the present tense should have been used throughout.

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**Colonial Planning.** BARBU NICULESCU.  
Allen and Unwin, London, 1958. 208  
pp. 18s.

After the second world war, planning became the fashion in all the British colonies as well as in the Congo and in the French empire. A study of this trend was needed but the author of this book admits that his work "cannot be said to have revealed any striking new facts or interpretations". This is true. The reason, however, is not that colonial planning is "mainly an administrative exercise", or that the author approached the subject from the limited standpoint of orthodox economics. The reason why this book fails to stimulate the reader lies in a misguided selection of data. The big — and neglected — feature of recent African growth is the rapid accumulation of capital, a fact passed over much too cursorily here. The implications of this development need an analysis which they are not given. He might have compared the conditions under which western Europe accumulated capital in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries with those prevailing in Africa now. Such a comparison would illuminate the whole social process in a way that Mr Niculescu has failed to do. No social scientist can ignore the lessons of history, least of all when considering what pushes Africans forward or what holds them back.

It must be left to bolder minds to draw from this author's materials a more perceptive picture of the total situation.

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**Vutlhari Bya Vatsonga (Machangana): The Wisdom of the Tsonga-Shangana People.** H. P. JUNOD and A. A. JAQUES. The Swiss Mission in S.A., Johannesburg. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 1957. 383 pp. 12s. 6d.

The publication of this second edition of Tsonga, Ronga and Tshwa proverbs, idioms and riddles, will be welcomed by very many people: by all the Tsonga-Ronga-Tshwa (hereafter called Tsonga) people themselves, by all those interested in these people, and by all folklorists who are eager for more books of this type. All those who will be pleased to hear of this book will be doubly pleased when they have read it, for it contains an excellent and well presented collection. One can say without any hesitation that this work ranks among the very best collections of this type that we have, so far, for any Bantu language.

**Vutlhari Bya Vatsonga** contains some 1,200 proverbs and idioms, and 209 riddles from Tsonga, Ronga and Tshwa. Several dialects of each one of these languages are represented in the collection.

Each proverb and idiom is accompanied by an explanation of its meaning and/or of the circumstances under which it could be used. For instance *Vukulukumba bya xava* (lit. Greatness buys), is accompanied by an explanation which when translated is as follows: "This means that a poor man, even though he sees a chief doing wrong, has no right to reprimand the chief, or to dispute with him" (p. 106-7, proverb 375). If a proverb has the same apparent meaning as another one, the number of that other proverb is indicated next to the first proverb. This is most useful for cross-reference purposes. All the proverbs, idioms and riddles contained in this work, and all the explanations accompanying them, are translated into English. On one page is the vernacular version and on the opposite page the English equivalent. The English translation is very close to the original version, but not too literal. This translation increases very much the value of the book, as it enables people who do not know Tsonga to enjoy and benefit from the wisdom of the Tsonga people.

A short section at the end of the book includes a list of proper names and nicknames, each one accompanied by its literal translation into English and frequently also by an explanation of its origin and use.

The spellings used are those accepted for each of the three main branches of this

Bantu language group. Additional apparent inconsistencies of spelling and vocabulary reflect dialectal differences or the inconsistencies of the official orthographies used at present. About this use of different orthographies, Junod says in the Foreword: "My aim has always been to accustom the Tsonga people with all written forms of their languages . . ." A book such as *Vuthari Bya Vatsonga* proves just how urgently a unified orthography is needed for these three languages, for these differences of orthography make it more difficult for anyone not familiar with all three languages, and all three spellings, to follow the proverbs and riddles.

The authors have not attempted to separate proverbs and idioms in the first section of this work. This is wise as it is often very difficult to distinguish between the two. A formal distinction between these two folkloristic forms usually leads to confusion and classificatory chaos.

The extremely difficult task of classifying these proverbs and idioms has been fairly satisfactorily dealt with; as satisfactorily, at any rate, as space will allow, for repetition of the same proverb under different sections of the work has been avoided. Proverbs and idioms can be classified according to the "key" word, according to literal meaning, according to import, or according to linguistic structure. In *Vuthari Bya Vatsonga* proverbs and idioms have been grouped into two main sections: (1) Proverbs connected with animals, and (2) Proverbs referring to ways and habits of the people. Each of these sections is further subdivided. Inclusion in the first category is based on the "key" word of the proverb, i.e. the main word refers to an animal. Inclusion in the second category is based (a) sometimes on the "key" word of the proverb (e.g. proverbs containing the word *huvo* (court, forum) are grouped under the sub-category referring to government and wealth, poverty and servitude), and (b) sometimes on actual significance. Finding a proverb in this section is not always easy as it may not always have a characteristic word such as *huvo*, and as it may have more than one possible interpretation, in which case it could be found in various sections of the

book. However, the difficulty arising from the discrepancy in the choice of classificatory criteria is offset by a good index given at the end of the book. This index lists the more important Tsonga word(s) in each proverb and riddle given in the book. The index is an invaluable asset to the reader, an asset which too many collections of this type do not possess. Unfortunately it does not solve the problem of the reader who does not know Tsonga, or who does not know well a particular proverb, so that he does not quite know what is its main Tsonga word. Perhaps in a third edition of this book a second index will be given which will overcome this problem.

The riddles are subdivided into two main groups, those answered by one word (p. 302), and those answered by many words. This subdivision is ambiguous, especially in view of the present disjunctive word division used in Tsonga. For instance, riddle 9: *Ndlela yo ka yi nga vonaki?* (The track which cannot be seen?), A: *Yi le matini* (It is lost in water), is classified with the first group of riddles. But riddles 95: Q: *Swihukwana ncakancaka?* (Chickens how numéroux?), A: *Tinyeleti* (The stars), and 101: Q: *Xikhatu xa tshuri?* (The bottom of the mortar?), A: *Likulu la mandza* (The large side of the egg), are classified with riddles whose answers consist of "many words". According to disjunctive word-division, the answer to the first riddle has "three words", the second one word, and the third one "three words". If conjunctive word-division were to be used, the first answer would have two words constituting a clause (it contains a predicative), the second one word, and the third one two words (constituting a phrase). There are several other instances where the classification adopted is confused. The subdivision of Tsonga riddles into these two main categories may be quite useful for certain purposes, but with the present system of word-division it is almost impossible to make a success of such a subdivision.

In the table of contents (p. 375) it is implied that folklore (*sic*) indicates "something" relating to animals, and that all other proverbs are not part of folklore. This unfortunate slip is, however, repaired by the title

to Book I "Swihari Swi Komba Vanhu—Proverbs Connected with Animal Folklore" (*sic*) which shows that animal folklore is only one part of all folklore.

In the Foreword to *Vutlhari Bya Vatsonga*, H. P. Junod states that the aim of this book is twofold: (a) to help the Shangana-Tsonga (*sic*, cf. the title) people to preserve a precious heritage, and (b) to bring Europeans to understand that Africans are not "savages" but can teach them a lot in matters of human relationships and manners. This aim is high, but there is every reason to believe that this book will go a long way towards achieving what the authors had in mind when writing it. Despite a few faults (which are amply compensated by all the good qualities of this work), this is an excellent book, containing a very rich and valuable collection. Any Tsonga person should consider himself privileged to have such a work at his disposal. Similarly privileged will be all others who make use of this book whatever their nationality or interests may be.

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**Het Epos van Heraklios.** JAN KNAPPERT. Doctoral Thesis, University of Leyden. N. J. Hofman, Alkmaar, Holland, 1958. 326 pp.

**Utenzi wa Vita vyā Maji-Maji.** ABDUL KARIM BIN JAMALIDDINI. Supplement to J. of the East African Swahili Committee, No. 27, June 1957. Kampala, Uganda. 72 pp.

The two heroic poems in Swahili which are the subject of these publications were separated by an interval of almost two hundred years. The first provides the oldest example of the Swahili verse form in four hemistichs to a verse rhyming *aaab*, a form used for the composition of long heroic poems called *tenzi* (sing. *utenzi*). One of the manuscripts used by Dr Knappert in his edition of the Swahili poem, *Utenzi wa Herekali* (also known as *Utenzi wa Tambuka*), was written at the request of the Sultan of Pate, Iaiti Nabahani,

in the year H. 1141/A.D. 1728. The second poem is a re-edition of a text originally collected in A.D. 1912 at Lindi by the German scholar A. Lorenz, and published by him in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalistische Sprachen* (36, 3, 1933). This edition includes an historical introduction by Miss Margaret Bates (translated into Swahili by Mr O. B. Kopoka), and the poem is translated into English by Dr W. H. Whiteley.

Both poems take war as their theme and both are written in the same prosodic form. There is a great difference in the manner of presentation by their European editors, for Dr Knappert was concerned with writing a scholarly thesis, while Dr Whiteley's concern was simply that the poem on the Maji-Maji Rebellion of 1905-6, a subject still vividly remembered by the older people in Tanganyika, should become accessible to readers in East Africa. There is a difference also in the general purpose of the Swahili poets. The author of the first poem, Mwana Mwengo bin Athmani, in writing an imaginative, and not strictly historical, description of the Prophet Muhammad's war against the Byzantine Emperor, Heraclitus, was, consciously or not, creating religious propaganda of a most effective kind. Other poems of the same kind dealt with the conflict, often imaginary but sometimes based on fact, between the Prophet with His Companions and the forces of paganism or, in this case, of Christianity. These poems had a fundamentally religious purpose and origin. The second poem under review, unlike the majority of Swahili heroic poems, has no religious intention whatever, but is simply an attempt to provide a true account from personal experience of some of the facts in the tragic story of the Maji-Maji Rebellion.

The literary medium in both instances is used by a Muslim writer, but it is interesting to find the medium used, in the poem on the Maji-Maji Rebellion, in relation to Africa, and not to Arabia. Even so, the later poet writes still as a Muslim, and one feels that his sympathies are not with the Africans in revolt against a harsh German administration. He refers to them unsympathetically as *washenzi*, savages, a term which Dr Whiteley

in kindlier vein translates as "pagans". The story of blind faith in the magical propensities of water prepared by a witchdoctor and designed to protect against German bullets illustrates traditional African trust in magic and has parallels in more recent times. The consequences were disastrous, for it is estimated that 120,000 Africans died, the majority from starvation following upon the disruption of communications. The tribes of Southern Tanganyika lost their coherence. It is a pathetic story of hopeless bravery and immeasurable suffering, and a classic example of the hopeless reliance upon African traditional belief against the hard fact of military power. Incidentally, the poem is probably the best of its kind dealing with actual events.

Dr Knappert's edition of the *Utenzi wa Herekali* has to be examined on a quite different plane. Both poems were originally written in the Swahili-Arabic script, but whereas Abdul Karim's poem on Maji-Maji is re-edited with no reference to the original script, Dr Knappert is intimately concerned with exact transliteration and with the comparative study of the source manuscripts. It must be understood that any exact transliteration would render the poem almost incomprehensible. The script has to be interpreted from a knowledge of Swahili, but the rules for this interpretation are, to a certain degree, inevitably of an arbitrary nature. These rules cannot entirely be postulated by the transliterator, but by reference to Swahili speech. One has also to bear in mind the necessity for preserving even in the transliteration certain literary conventions, like the consistent rhyming pattern of consonant plus vowel, a convention which Dr Knappert does not consistently observe. It is only fair to say that he observes this convention whenever the consonant is a functioning grammatical element, but the rhyming sequence should be shown even when the grammatical character of the final syllable is not involved.

Though Dr Knappert provides variant readings in roman letters from the different manuscripts, one would have wished to have seen a reproduction in the original script of a given section of the poem illustrating each of

the manuscripts in turn. This wish does not express any mistrust in his transliteration which, on the whole, is a very good one, but such a reproduction would have shown even more clearly than Dr Knappert's explanations do the limitations of the script. These limitations bring us back to the necessity for speech reference, and it is here that one detects a possible weakness in the transliteration. When there is more than one way of transliterating an Arabic symbol, the one to be favoured is that which expresses speech practice in Swahili. Why then does Dr Knappert write *kuihibu* for *kuihebu*, *nyuthe* for *nyothe*, and in v. 30, *kandukaye* for *kandoka ye*? His transliteration is correct, but it does not correspond to speech practice, which, as indicated in these examples, must give the preference between equally correct alternatives.

Conversely, reference to speech must have its own limitations, for distinctions in the script may not be observed in speech. Dr Knappert is quite right to show these in his transliteration provided that they occur regularly in the Swahili-Arabic script (in many of the older scripts they do not), and his list of consonantal alternances on p. 101 is especially valuable. In his list of equivalents on p. 113, the letter referred to in Swahili as *kyafu* is omitted, and this may be a printer's error.

Amongst the supplementary material he provides, some of it perhaps extraneous (like the list of the Names of God), Dr Knappert gives a most useful list of Swahili heroic poems and their whereabouts, and all students of Swahili poetry will be grateful for this. The grammatical notes may not be so welcome, since it may be held that the direct reference for such an analysis must be the Amu dialect or some kindred dialect, and not the poem, which derives its interpretation from the dialect. But opinions may differ about this. No one will doubt that Dr Knappert has made a most valuable and comprehensive contribution to the study of Swahili poetry.

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**Izaci Namaqhalo esiXhosa.** E. W. M. MESATYWA. Longmans, Green & Co., Cape Town. 1954. 220 pp. 10s. 6d.

This book contains a collection of Xhosa idiomatic expressions and proverbs. It is meant for Xhosa-speaking students and is, therefore, written in Xhosa. The idiomatic expressions number 1,015 and the proverbs 165, a total of 1,180.

In his work, *Zulu Proverbs* (Witwatersrand University Press, 1954), which made its appearance at the same time as Mesatywa's book, Professor C. L. S. Nyembezi opens the paragraph on Classification with the words: "The classification of proverbs presents a big problem." He goes on to examine the various methods of classification adopted by various writers and decides on a classification based on the "significance of the expression".

Mesatywa, on the other hand, has classified the idioms and proverbs according to the objects around which they are centred, e.g. *Izilo Zasendle* (Wild Animals), *Izinambuzane* (Insects), etc. Of this type of classification, Nyembezi observes that "the defect about it is that proverbs which should be treated together because they describe similar situations may be separate." The truth of this observation is remarked in Mesatywa's book in that the entries numbered 1,022, 1,026 and 1,052 respectively, although conveying the same moral lesson that each man is master in his own house, are treated under separate headings. Thus: 1,022: *Akukho ramcwua lingaggumiyo kowalo umnxhuma* (There is no beast that does not roar in its own den), and 1,026: *Neqaga liya gquma kowalo umnxhuma* (The polecat, too, roars in its den), are treated under *Izilo*, *Izilwanyana*, *Izinambuzane* (Animals, Small animals, Insects), while 1,052: *Idada lidada kwesalo isiziba* (The duck swims in its own pool) is treated under *Iintaka* (Birds) in a different chapter.

Again, entries 114, 129 and 136 read respectively as follows: *Izulu limathumb' antaka* (The weather is like the entrails of a bird); *Izulu limathumb' esikhwenene* (The weather is like the entrails of a parrot); *Izulu limathumb' esagwityi* (The weather is like the entrails of a quail). All three mean that the weather

looks like rain, i.e. promises but does not fulfil. But they are scattered far apart in the book.

Mesatywa appears to have been aware of this difficulty, too, and thought to meet it by way of cross-reference, i.e. by listing under a particular idiom with which he was dealing, those he had already treated and which bore resemblance to it. For example, on page 29, when dealing with idiom 136 *Izulu limathumb' esagwityi*, he records that this has the same significance as *Izulu limathumb' antaka* (114) and *Izulu limathumb' esikhwenene* (129).

Something, however, can be said in defence of Mesatywa's classification. As mentioned at the beginning, this book is meant for Xhosa-speaking students, to whom most, if not all, of the idioms and proverbs will be familiar. They will consult it then as one does a dictionary—to ascertain rather than to learn. This need not necessarily be the case, but it is, I believe, the writer's assumption.

Where to draw the line between an idiom and a proverb is another problem to which Nyembezi makes reference in his book. Mesatywa, too, seems to have encountered this difficulty. He has, for instance 514: *Ayigawulwa hlathini linye* (They (trees) are not felled from one forest); 1106: *Kugawulwa owaziwayo* (The well-known (tree) is cut down); 1111: *Induku entle yegawulwa ezizweni* (The fine stick is the one cut in foreign forests). The first, 514, he treats as an idiom and the latter two as proverbs—a completely arbitrary distinction.

The similarity between the Xhosa and Zulu proverbs is striking. In many instances exactly the same words are used in both languages and one feels it is a pity that neither of the two writers, particularly Nyembezi, whose work was an academic study of the subject, has drawn a parallel, however briefly.

Examples are:

Xhosa: *Unyawo alunampumlo*; Zulu: *Unyawo alunampumulo* (The foot has no nose)  
Xhosa: *Inxeba lendoda alihlekwa*; Zulu: *Inxeba lendod' alihlekwa* (A man's wound is not laughed at)

The Xhosa proverb, however, is often in a

fuller form and is thus more explicit, though less pithy, e.g.

Zulu: *Isisu somhamb' asingakanani* (The stomach of a stranger is small)

Xhosa: *Isisu somhambi asingakanani, singaphambili, ngemva ngumhlonzo* (The stomach of a stranger is small, it is in front, behind is the spine)

Zulu: *Ikhoth' eyikhothayo, ikhab' eyikhabayo* (It (the cow) licks the one that licks it, it kicks the one which kicks it)

Xhosa: *Inja ikhatha eyikhothayo, zinga mbini ziya khothana* (A dog licks the one (dog) that licks it, should there be two of them, they lick each other)

In the latter proverb an interesting point of derivation is revealed: The Zulu proverb has a *cow* as its subject, while the Xhosa proverb has a *dog*.

In a few instances Mesatywa also records more modern, present-day forms of the idioms. Thus under entry 764, *Se kuselwa ngayo* (It is a matter they discuss over their beer), he observes that *Ngezi mini kuthiwa: Kuphungwa ngayo ikofu* (These days they say: It is a matter they discuss over their coffee). Similarly under entry 982, *Lo mntu akanamiphula* (This person has no sense), Mesatywa observes that these days the saying is *Lomntu akanazipeni* (This person has no pennies), showing the effects of culture contact even on the proverb-lore of a language.

Any student who wishes to tackle the subject of comparison between the proverbs of Xhosa and Zulu will find his task made easier by the appearance, at almost the same time, of these two extremely valuable books.

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**Umvuzo wesoono.** E. S. M. DLOVA.  
Lovedale Press. 1954. 172 pp. 5s.

This is a novel, the hero of which is Twatwa, the son of a "Fingo" father and a Xhosa mother. He was born on the very day his mother received news of her husband's death in Port Elizabeth. The elements, too, were in an ugly mood, with rumbles of

thunder and forks of lightning heralding the approach of a storm the likes of which had never been experienced in Peddie, where the first part of the story is set. His mother made haste to leave the fields where she was working and get home before the storm broke. But she could not make it. She got as far as the cattle-kraal and there she gave birth, with no one in attendance, to her first and only child.

Twatwa had a troubled childhood but managed to grow up into an assertive and independent man. He finally settled at Mjikelweni near King Williamstown, where he met the villain of the piece, Gezenga, a Hlubi who was a man of substance. A chain of tragic events resulted from the enmity between the two, chief of which was the murder of Twatwa's youngest son, giving Twatwa such a shock that he went off his head for three years.

There is next to no interplay of character. The hero is thoroughly noble and even his short temperedness is presented as "righteous indignation", while the villain is thoroughly bad, with a shady past and a gloomy future. One reads with true relief that both of them ultimately died. The theme of good versus evil, with good reserved for the christianized and evil for the heathen, besides being hackneyed, is not realistic. It savours too much of propaganda. However, the book abounds in true Xhosa humour and wit with the Christians hard put to it to explain the queer ways of their God. MamThembu puts the heathen point of view quite strongly when she remarks: *Ibe ukuba ngumthetho waloo-Thixo ukuba abantu ma baquluse baxel' amagqwira xa bethetha naye. Mna andina-msebenzi naye* (And if it is the law of that God, that people should bend, with their posteriors facing upwards, like witches, when they talk to Him, as for me, I have nothing to do with Him).

The writer correctly exposes the tribal antagonisms between "Fingo" and Xhosa, and Hlubi and Xhosa, occasioned, no doubt, by the fact that the members of each tribal group tend to live together, separate from the others. But his treatment of this subject lacks balance. In the first place, he makes a

sweeping condemnation of both the Hlubi and the so-called Fingoies, who, evidently, are in his bad books. The Xhosa, on the other hand, are not once censured. It is again the same picture of all-black versus all-white, except that now the canvas is larger, accommodating tribes, instead of individuals.

An interesting feature for students of Xhosa grammar is the occurrence throughout this book of the form *-wa-* instead of *-ka-*, as the subject-concord, class 6, in negative verbs, e.g. p. 83, line 2, *laa maddoda . . . awachithakalanga*; line 8, *awabud'apha (ama-doda)*

The book carries more than its fair share of printing errors, surprising for a work produced by the Lovedale Press which has had such a long and intimate association with Bantu literature. To quote just a few of these errors:

p. 122, *zazilungiseslelwe* for *zazilungiselelwe*.  
 p. 132, line 23, *ethlile* for *ethile*.  
 p. 138, line 13, *uukbuz* for *ukubuza*, etc.

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**An Atlas of African History.** J. D. FAGE.  
 Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, London. 1958. 64 pp. 30s.

The reason for this most useful book is best explained in Professor Fage's words: "With the development of African history as a subject for study in schools and universities, a need has emerged for an atlas of African history comparable to those which have been devised for the history of Europe and other continents. The historical atlases that already exist give scant attention to Africa, and for the most part treat of it only as a continent which has been the recipient of influences and actions from outside. Some regional African atlases have been compiled for a few favoured African territories or regions. But these do little to meet the growing demand from teachers and students for a general atlas devoted to the history of the whole of Africa, an atlas in which the continent and its inhabitants are treated as the central point around which influences and actions

coming from outside can be seen in perspective."

The 62 maps (all in black and white) are well selected with this end in view. The historian of West Africa has not allowed disproportionate space to the region which particularly interests him, and though there are 29 maps of Africa north of the equator and only 13 of Africa south of it, this is reasonable considering the former's greater extent and historical antiquity. Two maps straddle the equator. There are 14 maps of Africa as a whole, mostly showing the changing pattern of alien rule between 1830 and 1957. There are four more general maps, indicating the pattern of trade between Europe, Africa and Asia on the eve of Portuguese exploration; Portuguese maritime expansion; and—a most welcome addition—competition for trade in the Indian Ocean, and in the Atlantic Ocean, in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Much thought and work have gone into the preparation of the volume. The excellently clear finished maps are the work of Miss Maureen Verity. Some of them carry considerable detail, and many are accompanied by explanatory letterpress.

One appreciates Professor Fage's difficulties in rendering proper names: "It has not seemed practicable to attempt throughout the *Atlas* to standardise the spelling of geographical and proper names. Nor perhaps would this be desirable, for notwithstanding the fact that there are now generally accepted rules for the transliteration from African languages and from Arabic, it should be remembered that these names have passed into history and into English usage at various times and in a variety of ways, often proceeding through the medium of one or more other languages on the way." Nevertheless, there is much to be said, where place-names are concerned, in favour of adopting the standardized official spelling of the present-day administration (or the transliteration according to the accepted rules); varying forms can be shown in the index, with cross-references. The modern spelling of São Thomé (Map 25, etc.) for instance is S. Tomé; of Gwai (26), Gwaai. Incidentally the index,

though it contains some 1,100 proper names, omits Gwai, it was noticed.

In a work of this nature some inconsistencies and slips are inevitable. Maps 24 and 25, for instance, covering the same centuries, show Fernando Po in one, Fernam do Poo in the other. Map 61 shows the island as Moçambique, but the province as Mozambique. In map 26, Penquña should lose its tilde; Marari should be Maravi; and the Holy

Spirit River should be not the Limpopo, but the Lourenço Marques estuary.

The most challenging of the maps is that showing the migrations of the Southern Bantu—and how comparatively little is still known about them. There is urgent need for more systematic and scientific interrogation to record tribal traditions in Southern Africa (similar to that now being done in the Belgian Congo) before it is too late.

E.A.

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### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Editorial Committee gratefully acknowledges receipt of the publications listed below, during the period 1 November 1958 to 31 March 1959. Reviews are published as circumstances permit, but no undertaking can be given that every book received will be reviewed in *African Studies*.

BECKER, PETER: *The Peoples of South Africa (Race Studies for Std. VI)*. Dagbreek Book Store (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg. n.d.

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GABATSHWANE, S. M.: *Introduction to the Bechuanaland Protectorate History and Administration*. Published by author, Kanye. 1957.

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HOHENBERGER, J.: *Semitisches und hamitisches Sprachgut im Masai, Mit vergleichendem Wörterbuch*. J. J. Augustin, Hamburg, Germany. 1958.

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WATSON, WILLIAM: *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy (A study of the Mambwe people of Northern Rhodesia).* Manchester University Press for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 1958.

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